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(BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA)

(Being VOL XX of Studies in Indian Epigraphy)

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Working Chairman & Executive Editor

Madhav N. Katti

Editors

M. D. Sampath **S. S. Iyer**

Assistant Editor

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Issued In fond memory of

Late DR. S.P.TEWARI.

Former Secretary & Executive Editor

Epigraphical Society of India

Who Toiled Hard for the development of the

Society

EDITORIAL

I am extremely delighted to place in the hands of the scholars volume XX of the journal. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Society has marched ahead, without any setback ever since its establishment and is completing two decades of its service to the world of epigraphists and indological researchers. It has also organised conferences and brought out its journal annually without any break and this is not an insignificant achievement for a Society which solely depends upon the active participation and involvement of its members.

This year we had to face an unprecedently sad situation on account of the untimely demise of our learned colleague Dr. S.P. Tewari, who was the Secretary and Executive Editor of the Society. He passed away on the 28th of December 1993. I have to place on record that Dr. Tewari had been rendering his service to the Society with utmost devotion and commitment. His sad demise is an irreparable loss to the Society in particular and scholarly world in general. We, therefore, dedicate this volume to the memory of late Dr. S.P. Tewari. The Society also condoles the death of Prof. Jagannath Agarwal, Hon. Fellow of the Society and a leading Indologist, who passed away on 22-7-93.

Our Chairman Dr. K.V. Ramesh had gone on a visit to the South-East Asian countries during the month of January 1994 to conduct an epigraphical exploration as a member of the team lead by Prof. N. Karashima, University of Tokyo, Japan. The team accomplished an important task by discovering a number of historically important inscriptions.

At the behest of Dr. Ramesh, Chairman, the local Executive Committee passed a resolution on 8-12-93, authorising me to take over as the working Chairman of the Society and see that the work of the Society is continued as expected. In this regard I have done my best with the inspiring guidance of Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Chairman, all the office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee. Again on account of the sad demise of Dr. S. P. Tewari, the local Executive Committee passed a resolution on 30-12-93 authorising me to perform the duties of Secretary and Executive Editor, as the task of arranging the annual conference of the Society and bringing out its journal had to be accomplished on an emergency footing. I accepted this responsibility also in anticipation of the cooperation of all the office-bearers and Executive Committee members and I am glad to mention here that I have received whole hearted cooperation from all of them.

It is heartening to note that during the year a number of auspicious events have taken place. The fellowship of the Asiatic Society of Bombay was conferred upon our founder Chairman Dr. G.S. Gai; our senior Vice-Chairman Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri has been elected as the President of the Archaeology Section of the ensuing All India Oriental Conference; our Working Chairman Shri Madhav N. Katti has been elected as the President of the Section dealing with Historical Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics and Archives of the ensuing Indian History Congress and our Executive Committee member Dr. M.D. Sampath has been elevated to the rank of Chief Epigraphist. Dr. K.V. Ramesh and Dr. S. H. Ritti, our former Chairman, Secretary and Executive Editor paid a visit to Japan at the invitation of Tokyo university and participated in a seminar, at which Dr. K.V. Ramesh presented a report of the Indo-Japanese team's epigraphical findings in South-East Asia.

This year has been full of trials and turmoils and the printing of the journal was undertaken against various odds as the articles were to be made press-ready within a very short time. Therefore, though best efforts have been made to make the journal as good as possible in its quality and get up, I crave the indulgence of the members and research scholars for any lacunae in this regard. My colleagues Dr. M.D. Sampath, Dr. S.S. Iyer and Dr. S. Swaminathan have helped me whole heartedly in bringing out the journal. Dr. Swaminathan, Treasurer has also shared my secretarial responsibility. Shri P. Venkatesan, our Assistant Secretary has enthusiastically rendered his assistance in the day to day matters as well as in the arrangement of the present session of the congress.

The scheduled venue of the conference was Lucknow, but as the organisers expressed their inability for arranging the conference due to some unforeseen developments, the local Executive Committee decided to approach the Mythic Society, Bangalore for hosting this session. The Mythic Society has done its best to make the congress a grand success. In this context, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Society and on my own behalf, I express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Suryanath U. Kamath, the dynamic President of the Mythic Society, Dr. M.K.L.N. Sastry, its Hon. Secretary and all the Working Committee memers of the Society. Dr. Ravindra Kumar, Chairman, Dr. B.K. Pandeya and Dr. P.K.Shukla, Deputy Directors, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, deserve our sincere thanks for providing their constant encouragement in the matters of holding the Society's conference as well as the printing of its journal.

On behalf of the Executive Committee and on my own behalf, I express my hearty thanks to Prof. B.N. Mukherjee, Carmichael Professor, Calcutta University and one of the leading Indologists of our country for having readily consented to preside over this annual session as its General President.

In discharging my duties as Working Chairman and subsequently also as Secretary and Executive Editor, I have received encouraging guidance from Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Chairman of the Society; our elderly Vice -Chairmen Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan and other office-bearers have helped me and my colleagues throughout. All the members of the Executive Committee have taken unflinching interest in the developmental activities of the Society and rendered the benefit of their advice. Sarva Shri N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam; Nallai Nedumaran, Tiruchendur and Subramanyam of the Mythic Society, Bangalore have also encouraged the Society in various ways. My sincere thanks are due to all of them.

Shri Lakshminarayana *alias* Babu, the proprietor of Ready Print, Mysore deserves our heartfelt thanks for printing the present volume of the journal neatly in a short time. S/Shri P. Natarajan, G.S. Ravishankar, and V.Ramesh have rendered assistance in various ways in carrying out my work and I place on record my hearty thanks to them.

Madhav N. Katti
Working Chairman &
Executive Editor

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Madhav N. Katti

M.D.Sampath

Presidential Address*

Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale

Friends and Fellow Delegates :
At the outset I express by deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the Epigraphical Society of India for electing me as the general President of the nineteenth session of this learned body in this historic city of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi. This indeed is great honour conferred upon me.

The city of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi was the centre of cultural activities the echoes of which are found both in literature and inscriptions. The Pallava king Mahēndravarmaṉ excavated a cave temple in the rock-fort hill which is in the centre of the town. The king was a noted artist. *Chitrakārapuli* and *Vichitrachitta* were his remarkable titles. The author of the inscription was the king himself. Both the poetry of the inscription and the marvellous sculpture of Śiva-Gāṅgādhara of this cave temple were a direct result of king Mahēndra's creative inspiration. He attained spiritual self identify with Lord Śiva.

There are some epigraphical references concerning the Saṅgam tradition. The larger Siṉṉamanūr copper-plates issued by the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṁha II in the beginning of 10th century A.D. pay an eloquent tribute to the Pāṇḍya king who founded the city of Madurai and promoted Sanskrit and Tamil Langauges. He directed the *Mahābhārata* to be translated into Tamil and promoted Tamil learning by instituting Tamil Academy.
Another important dynasty of this region was the Chōḷaś. The Chōḷas rule was characterized by cultural contacts with several parts of India and even outside the country.

Tamilnadu and Maharastra had very intimate relationship even in the later period. This glorious city where we are assembled gave asylum to Rājārām, the son of Shivāji the Great, for two years. The Tamil University has published fifty copper-plates of the Marathas of Thañjāvūr in Tamil. The study of these copper-plates indicates a sweet blend of twin cultures of Tamils and Marathas. They have preserved very interesting information of that period. Kāmākshiyambā, wife of Shivaji, the last ruler, gave donations to various temples. There is a bronze statue of Amunu Ammani moulded in the form of a *Pāvaiviḷakku* in the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr. The donatrix had donated this as thanks-giving to the lord for having fulfilled her deep desire to marry Pratapsingh with whom she fell in love. The prince was the son of the deposed ruler Amarasingh (1798 A.D.). The princess is portrayed as holding the lamp with reverence, parrot perching on the right shoulder. The pedestal of this exquisite icon contains the message of love and accomplishment of the cherished desire.

Tiruvārūr, one of the *Saptaviṭaṅka-*

sthalās, was a favourite of the Maratha kings, as majority of copper-plates are from this temple. Shahaji (1687-1712 A.D.) eulogised this presiding deity in his musical opera called *'Pallaki Sēva Prabandham'*. The last ruler of the Maratha power was Sarfoji, the great patron of arts.

I am recalling this remarkable history as it indicates intimate relationship between Tamilnadu and Maharastra. I am conscious of my humble position in this galaxy of learned Scholars. My predecessors have taken reviews of epigraphical researches and the complex problems in the study of iscriptions. We have been facing the same problems persistently. In spite of all this we hold high hopes.

The studies in Epigraphy are no longer confined only to the collection of inscriptions. Research is being conducted in Universities and in various Institutions which are devoted to investigating different aspects of cultural study which includes social dimensions of the period, religious systems, agricultural systems, etc.

I take liberty of this platform to review Western India Cave Inscriptions and their contribution to the cultural history of India.

In Western India the political scenerio started with the rise of the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhana rulers become predominent in the Trans-Vindhyan India after the fall of the Mauryan monarchy. The members of this family styled themselves as the lord of Daksiṇāpatha and ruled from 30 B.C. to the first half of the 3rd century A.D.

The earliest inscription of this house is from Nāṇeghāṭ. It is 40 k.m. west of Junnar, Pune district, Maharastra. Nāṇeghāṭ, an ancient trade route, had played an important role in the economic activities of the Sātavāhanas. The ghāt was actually the cultural channel through which the Sātavāhanas had contacts with the western world. It is interesting to note that 'Nana' the coin device of the Kushāṇas, in the course of time became a general term for 'coin' in India. The word *'Nāṇeghāṭ'* locally means the hilly path which was meant for tax collection.

The two habitations at the foot of the ghāt even today are known as Pradhānapada (main centre) and Vaisaghara, i.e. traders' habitation. The Nānēghāṭ inscription has recorded the flamboyant account of the celebration of different sacrifices such as *Aptoryāma*, *Gargatirātra*, *Anārambhanīya*, etc, performed by king Sātakarṇi, and his queen Nāganikā. The king made munificient donations of *Kārshapaṇas*, cart-loads of grains, gold and silver ornaments, elephants and bedecked horses, thousands of cows, etc. Sātakarṇi performed one *Rājasūya* and two *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. The celebration of the *Rājasūya* suggests his coronation and the two *Aśvamēdhas* demonstrate his political supremacy. The king celebrated the *Vājapēya* sacrifice also. The name of the sacrifice is damaged in the mutilated part of the inscription. The significant mention of the sacrificial fees of the *Vājapēya*

gives an authentic clue. In the celebration of the *Vājapēya* the sum '17' is considered to be important. In the inscription there is a mention of donation of 1700 cows, 17 docorated elephants and 289 bamboo sticks. On the basis of these numerical figures it could be surmised that the king must have performed the *Vājapēya* sacrifice. A close study of the numerical figure reveals that 289 is the square of 17. It may further be mentioned that the inscription has recorded the other figures such as 100 (square of 10), 400 (square of 20), 10,000 (square of 100).

In the Nāṇeghāṭ cave alongwith the inscription there were relievo figures of the royal members of the Sātvāhana house. At present there are only of feet remains and over those remains there are label inscriptions. These inscriptions have recorded the names, 1) Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana house, 2) Siri Sātakarṇi, 3) Dēvī Nāgaṇikā, 4) Mahārathi Treṇakayira, father of Nāgaṇikā, 5) Kumāra Bhāya, 6) Kumāra Hakusiri, 7) Kumara Sātavāhaṇa. The creation of relievo figures on the trade route is an exotic and incredible concept in ancient Indian history. It reminds us of the Persian inscription at Nugsh-i-Rustum. In this inscription king Darius says, "By the favour of Ahuramazida, I ruled over many countries and they bore me tribute". The Nāneghāṭ inscription describes Sātakarṇi as "*Apratihata-chakra, Prithivyāḥ Prathamavīra*". The placement of the inscription in the cave on the trade-route and the significant description of the king near the Buddhist cave-complex suggest a remarkable synchronism between different cultural ideologies which evolved alongwith the communication of goods and culture at Nāneghāṭ.

In Indian tradition the king is raised to the rank of God, but his human origin is not lost sight of. The Vedic concept of the king *Prithivyāḥ Ēkarāṭ*, the conqueror of the whole world, is well-reflected in the expression *Prithivyāḥ Prathamavīra*. The idea of *Chakravartin* was one of the fundamental and wide-spread concepts of Buddhism. The most characteristic expression of Buddhist ideals of kingship was the earliest icon of *Chakravartin*, at Jagayyapēṭa and Andhra Pradesh to symbolize the universal monarch, a concept whose routes extended deeply into traditional Indian culture. The Nāneghāṭ inscription manifested manifold ideologies which evolved at Junnar through trade and commerce with the hinterland and the western world.

The *Periplus* vividly describes how western coast was humming with trade. The Roman ships were anchored in the ports of Borgaza, Kalyān and Chaula. It further mentions that Sūrpāraka and Kalyāṇ in time of the elder Saraganus become lawful market-towns.

The epigraphical material at Jūnnar significantly provides information to understand both internal and external trade of the western coast. The inscriptions have recorded donations by different guilds which indicate a well-organized lo-

cal trade net-work that handle the transportation of goods. While discussing amphora and the Roman economy, Peacock and Williams have discussed the specific connotations of the Roman trade and its framework such as, 1) Gift-exchange, 2) Redistribution, 3) Marketing. In all these Institutional mechanisms, the Roman churches played an important role. It appears that similar pattern was followed by the Yavana donors at Junnar. The Yavana Irila from Gata donated two watercisterns. The Yavana Chanda recorded the gift of the façade. The Yavana Chita made a meritorious gift of recectory. Ādathūma, the Śaka, and *Upāsaka* of the guild of the Konachikas made a gift of 20 *nivartanas* in the village Vaḍalika. Ayama, of the Vachua *gotra* and the Prime Minister of the king *Mahākshatrapa* Nahapana, made a meritorious gift of a *maṇḍapa* in the year 46. These inscriptions, recorded the above donations, suggest the definitive trade-relations between Jannar and the Western world.

Amphora were the objects of trade of the Roman World. Pieces of Roman amphorae have been found at Junnar and another significant discovery from the same site is that of a carved alabaster depicting the birth of Eros in an egg shell. These evidences show how Junnar was brought within the scope of Graco-Roman civilization.

Alongwith the external trade it was linked up with internal market centres such as Ter, Paiṭhan, Bharuch and Ujjayini. One inscription records the assemblage of monks as Kakaputiya Saṅgha. It is well-known that the ancient name of Sānchi region was Kaka.

Junnar was well connected with Bhārukachcha which was the principal collecting and shipping port on the western coast. The *Periplus* states that from Bharuch large vessels were regularly sent to the market towns of Persia. It further refers to agricultural products like wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesam-oil, wood, bamboo etc, which were exported from Bharuch. One inscription from Junnar refers to the meritorious gift of a seven-celled cave by a guild of corn-dealers. Junnar was the only place in Western Indian cave sites which records the organisation of corn-dealers. Another inscription records the meritorious gift of two cells by two brothers designated as '*Lankudiyas*'. (The etymology of the word must be from the word '*Lakkuḍa*' meaning wood. Linguistically in the doubling of a consonant one consonant is nasalized.) It may further be suggested that the two brothers must be collecting wood from Junnar and exporting from Bharuch.

It appears that systematic efforts were made by the state to enhance the export-trade. There are two inscriptions at Junnar which record the donation of land for the plantation of *Karañja* trees in the Vahalaka village. The plantation of *Karañja* trees (*Pongania Glabra*) was meant for oil. The oil of *Karañja* trees was used for lamps. The oil has anti-bacterial qualities. While exporting logs of wood, the

traders must be applying oil of *Karañja* trees. The oil cures skin diseases.

Warmington has mentioned that the Romans used many Indian plant products in drugs and medicines. The Junnar inscriptions mention the plantation of *Jamunn (Engenia Jambolana)* and mango trees at the Mahāvaidya-grāma near Junnar. Juice of orchid from India was exported to Rome. The monks, who were indirectly involved in economic activities and trade, had another advantage of accumulation of religious merit by offering different gifts. Offering medicine was considered as one of the four means of accumulation of religious merit by offering different gifts, viz. 1) *Chīvara* - old clothes : 2) *Piṇdapāta* - giving food : 3) *sayanāsana* - providing seat and bed, and 4) *bheshajyaparishkara* - offering medicine. Although there is no archaeological evidence of wine-making installation near Junnar, there is corroborative evidence. A coin depicts an elephant and a vase on the obverse and on the reverse there is a tree with fruits in railing ('Potin W.2.800 1.8 m, thickness 1mm and the legend is *Rano Kani*). It is rather difficult to attribute this coin to any particular Sātakarṇi, but it speaks of the exportation of beverge made of fruits from Junnar.

The Roman empire was sending base metal coins. The *Periplus* mentions the importation of silver. One inscription from Junnar records the guild of braziers. This is the unique evidence from Junnar. The Nāneghāṭ inscription speaks of the donations of Kārsāpaṇas at different celebrations of sacrifices. It was likely that king Sātakarṇi melted down the Roman silver coins at Junnar and coined his *Kārṣāpaṇas* for Dakshiṇa. Donation by the guild of braziers not only suggests the wealth and prosperity of the guild but it throws light on the international trade of the Sātavāhanas. A silver-coin of Sātakārṇi I and Nāganikā from Junnar has proved that it was issued on the occasion of Aśvamēdha sacrifice. There are three unique coins from Junnar. They are of king Sātakarṇi, Sātavāhana and Nahapāna. All these coins are having identical motif of lion standing infront of Yūpa. The sacrificial pillar might be the mint-mark of Junnar and perhaps of Nānēghāṭ. Nahapāna opted the motif of sacrificial pillar which indicated the control over the Nāneghāṭ trade-route. The inscription records the meritorious gift of Nahapāna with his title Mahākhantapa which occurs on his coins and indicates safe communication between Junnar and the Western world.

Junnar was not only a commercial centre, but is was an educational centre too. Two inscriptions from Junnar record the donations of *Krami* Yajñaputa and *Kramin* Yañjalā. The adjective Kramin indicates not only extra-ordinary quality of these brother and sister but also offers the unique evidence of the then Vedic environs in which Junnar and Nāneghāṭ were enveloped. The word *Kramin* which occurs for the first time in Western Indian cave inscriptions suggests that pos-

sibly some sacrifices might have been performed at Junnar.

Another important centre was Nāsik which has its exclusive identity. Nāsik was literally the record office (*Phalakavara*) of the Sātavāhana house. At Nasik there are royal records of the Sātavāhana house. The inscriptions, even if they were verbally ordered, were afterwords written by responsible administrative officers like minister (*amātya*) or the war minister (*mahāsenāpati*). The inscriptions were executed by (*uparakhita*) officers.

The inscription of Gautamīputra delivered the deed in his 18th year from the victorious camp and recorded a grant of 200 *nivartanas* to Tekirasi monks. The king commanded Vinhupāla, the officer at Govardhana that the Ajakalakiya field in the village of western Kakhadi previous enjoyed by Usaphadata, first orally ordered then was written by Sivagupta (*ksata*) supervised by *Mahasāmi*-(*uparakita*) and executed by Tapasa.

The inscription of Usabhadata (No.12) refers to the proclamation of a land-grant in the *Nigamasabhā* and its subsequent registration and embodiment into archives kept in the *Phalakavāra*. There are writers who made donations to the fraternity. One inscription records the grant of Saka Damachika Vudhika, a writer. It, therefore, appears that Nāsik had a writers' tradition and, therefore, different terminologies, concerning writing techniques occur in inscriptions at Nāsik. At Kaṇhēri nowhere we find the name of a writer. Even the words *Kshata*, *Utkīrṇa*, and *likhita* meaning- engraved, written, are completely absent. The monks must be writing the inscriptions and, therefore, inscriptions at Kaṇhēri display various hand-writing. The inscriptions of Nahapāna and of the Sātavāhanas, show Sanāskrit influence. The *Visarga*, palatal *sa* conjuncts *ksha* and *jña* occur in Nahapāna's inscriptions and the letter *la* occurs in the inscription of Puḷumavi. The inscription in cave No.18 at Nāsik records that the cave was the gift of one Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhammadeva a, Yavana northerner, a resident of Dattamitri which has been identified as Demetrius. It was named after the Indo-Greek ruler Demetrius. Kosambi has ingeniously discussed the prosperous trade of wester coast. He has emphatically shown that coconut was mainly responsible for the growth of trade as its wood fibre and oil were very popular in and outside the country.

We get its corroborative inscriptional evidence in the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapāna. One inscription records that the king planted 32,00 saplings of coconut on the western coast and 8000 coconut trees in the village Chikhalapadra. The plantation of coconut trees by the state might possibly be for wine. To mark this prosperous international trade activity Kochchiputa *Sātakarṇi* issued coins with Elephant and vase on its back. Both Vase and elephant are symbols of prosperity in Indian context.

The third important centre in west-

ern India was Kaṇhēri. The study of inscriptions at Kaṇhēri brings to light manifestation of different aspects of culturam evolutions due to its prominent geographical position. Kaṇhēri became a large Buddhist establishment in western India. It has linkage with the hinterland through Thalghāṭ to Nasik and Nānēghāṭ. The political history reveals that Sopāra and Kalyaṇa were important ports from the Mauryan period and first century onwards. With the growing trade with Rome, Kalyāṇa and Chaul enjoyed a similar significant position. During the reign of Gāutamiputra Yajñaśri the western coast was literally humming with trade activities. One inscription has noted a word of people from Gāndhāra.

The ship-type coin and the fleet-type coin of Sātakarṇi Yajñasri offer a corroborative evidence of long distance trade during the time of Vāsishṭhīputra Puluṃavi is well-evident in the inscriptions at Kaṇhēri. During the reign of the king Gautamiputra Yajña Sātakarṇi, Kaṇheri was a flourishing Buddhist centre and it continued to be so even upto the Rāshṭrakuṭa period. The imprints of the Vākāṭaka culture are pertaming in the inscriptions of Kaṇhēri.

One inscription in cave No. 3 records the donation by Buddhaghosha who was the Mahagandhakuṭi-vārika. The reference of Mahagandhakuṭi clearly indicates that it was no other than the Gandhakuṭi of Ajanta. The epitaphs of Buddhist, teachers at Kanhēri discovered in the valley in front of the burial gallery are written either in nail-beaded or box-headed variety of Brāhmī. Unless there was royal patronage, there could be no communication between Ajanta and Kanhēri. The epitaph records the names of teachers of high religious achievements. They not only throw light on ancient Budhist monastic institutions but also offer evidence for the first time of teachers' tradition in western India. This tradition continued even in the early Rāshṭrakūṭa period. The Kanhēri inscription of Pullaśakti, feudatory of Amōghavarsha, records a donation to the Buddhist vihāra at Kanhēri a part of which was utilized for purchasing books. The same educational tradition flourished at Ajanta.

The inscriptions at Ajanta provide interesting glimpses of monastic life. They significantly indicate how zealously the Budhist fraternity at Ajanta sought to maintain the high intellectual and moral standards enforced by canons. Since most of the scriptures had been written by this time, the deep knowledge of these scriptures is evidently reflected in Ajanta inscriptions. They bear perfect harmony with the Buddhist philosophy. It is beautifully interwoven in the eulogies composed in classical Sanskrit.

Western Indian coast is studded with caves which badly need a re-survey. That will enable new scholars to work on them with new zeal. Epigraphy thus plays a complementary role in the reconstruction of ancient history and, therefore, we must make efforts to rededicate ourselves for

the enrichment of the epigraphical studies using all innovating genius.

Last but not the least, we have to pay attention to the social significance of the precious treasure-trove of the past by instituting scholarships and fellowships for the continued study.

Allow me to say that some of the inscriptions in caves and other places are damaged by neglect, public misuse and a lot of ignorance. I hope and trust in our deliberations here we will pay attention to all the niceties of the discussions with new insights. Regarding the elaborateness of the purpose of enhancing the dignity of the subject matter we should make all possible endeavour.

Notes & References :

* Delivered at the nineteenth annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Trichy (Tamilnadu) from 12th to 14th February 1993.

1. RĀMA CULT : EARLIEST EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Ajay Mitra Shastri

It is commonly believed by the Indologists that the Rāma worship as an independent cult came into existence quite late. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar[1] and H.C. Raychaudhuri[2], to mention only two, for example, held that the worship of Rāma, not to speak of a cult in his honour, had not become quite popular even as late as the Gupta age. It was not as much due to prejudices as to the non-availability of any dependable evidence to prove otherwise. But in recent years a lot of evidence, especially epigraphic, has come to light which establishes indisputably not only that Rāma had come to be popularly worshipped as an incarnation of god Vishṇu but also that an independent cult had already centred around him as early as, if not earlier than, the second century A.D. It is intended here to invite attention to a couple of such evidences.

Dr. B.C. Shukla has recently brought to light a very important evidence to the notice of scholars,[3] but he has missed some important points which may be rectified here. A broken sand stone slab from the antiquarian site of Kauśāmbī (modern Kosām, Allahabad district, Uttar Pradesh) in the collection of Shri Prabhat Tandon of Allahabad is highly patinated, indicating that it had been lying in the bed of the river Yamunā before being picked up. It bears a short three-line inscription and is broken on both sides resulting in a few letters at the beginning and end of each line being lost irretrievably. The inscription is in Brāhmī characters similar to those met with in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas about the middle of the second century A.D. It reads as follows :

1\. .... *divase 10 (+) 2 gahapati* ....

2\. .... *saha dārakena Īddaghoseṇa* ..

3\. ... *bhagavato Rāma-Nārāyana* ...

Shukla, has read the name in the second line as Iddaghosa; but the initial *akshara* is formed by four dots. So the name has to be read as Īddaghosa with a long *ī*, and not as Iddaghosa with a short *i*. Then he has taken the word *dāraka* in the sense of 'wife' whereas it in the context here must mean 'son', not 'wife'. It actually qualifies 'Īddaghosa', i.e, Īddaghosa was the son of the householder (*gahapati* Skt. *gṛihapati*) whose name must have been given in the first line but which has been irreparably lost in the damaged portion of the stone. So the name of the *gahapati* mentioned in the first line was not Iddaghosa, as believed by Shukla. Of the date given in line 1, only the serial number of the day, 12, has been preserved, while the year and the month-name given along with at the beginning of the first line are lost irreparably along with the damaged portion of the stone slab. But the 12th day of the month was regarded as sacred by the Vaishṇavas. In all probability it must have been the twelfth day of the bright half of *Kārttika* which was especially holy for the Vaishṇavas as god Vishṇu was believed to wake up from his four-month long sleep *(devotthāna)* on the preceding *ekādaśī* and the *dvādaśī* was observed as a *pāraṇā* when pious acts like land grants were often made. The Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā is known to have made her grants on this day.[4] The same may have been the case with the present record.

The third line has the first preserved word *bhagavato* in genitive singular qualifying the following expresion, *Rāma-nārāyaṇa,* which also must have ended in genitive *singular,* viz., *Rāma-nārāyaṇasa,* though the case ending *sa* is again irretrievably lost in the damaged stone. The *gahapati* actually intended to record some pious act connected with the god *(bhagavat)* Rāma-nārāyaṇa. As the whole is in genitive singular, denoting 'of', he must have erected a shrine or installed an image or some symbol of the god. The exact nature of this act cannot be ascertained as the subsequent portion of the record which could have enlightened us on this point is completely lost' irrecoverably.

The expression *bhagavato Rāma - Nārāyaṇa* is of utmost importance for the history of the development of Vaishṇavism in as much as it leaves absolutely no doubt regarding not only Rāma having come to be regarded as the god receiving independent worship but also about his complete identity with the supreme god Nārāyaṇa.

Even though the date portion in the beginning is very much damaged, its date in mid-second century can be easily fixed not only on palaeographic but even on linguistic considerations in as much as it is composed in Prakrit.

It may thus be concluded that an independent cult centring on Rāma had come into existence as early as the second century A.D. And it was just a culminated expression, it must have been established by about the beginning of the Christian era.

The name Rāmadatta, 'given by Rāma' or 'given (devoted) to Rāma', borne by a king of the Mathurā region in the second century A.D as revealed from his coins[5] is also a pointer in the same direction and may be said to corroborate the aforesaid inscriptional evidence. A very important evidence of the commplete identity of Rāma and Vishṇu emanates from a rather unexpected source. It is the Bāgh (Dhar district, Madhya Pradesh) plate of the *Mahārāja* of Valkhā named Bhuluṇḍa and dated in the year 47 of an unspecified era. The record has been recently, published[6] but its value from the present point of view is being pointed out by us for the first time.[7] It records the grant of five villages for the performance of certain rites for god Vishṇu whose eight-armed *śēsha-śayana* form is described at the beginning and who is said to have broken the haughtiness of Bali, Naraka, Namuchi, Keśin, the Kāḻīya snake, the ten-headed (*Daśa-vadana,* i.e, Rāvaṇa), Kaṁsa, Chāṇūra, Arishṭa and Śiśupāla, who as Varāha (Boar incarnation) retrieved the lost earth, and who is without any beginning, middle and end. In fact, it is the earliest datable account of the eight-armed *Ananta-śayana* (reclining on the cosmic serpent called Ananta or Śēsha). What is, however, most important in the present context is the inclusion of the feat of the destruction of Daśānana Rāvaṇa as an act of Vishṇu revealing that complete identity had come to be established between Rāma and Vishṇu who were treated as one and the same. Rāma was verily Vishṇu himself.

Regarding the date of this record, it was issued in the forty-seventh year of an unspecified era which has been variously identified with the Kalachuri- Chēdi era of 248-49 A.D[8] or the Gupta era of 319-20 A.D, [9] the latter view being more likely. In case the former identification is accepted the record would belong to the end

of the third century and in the latter case to about 366 A.D. We may thus conclude that by the end of the third or middle of the following century, Rāma had already come to be so completely identified with Vishṇu that the most outstanding feat of the former had come to be attributed to the latter.

To conclude, the epigraphical evidence leaves no doubt that an independent cult centring on Rāma had come into existence and become firmly established by the mid-second century and his identification with Vishṇu was a *fait accompli* by the close of the third/mid-fourth century A.D. It supplements and gives archaeological credence to the literary tradition that points to a considerably earlier date.

Notes & References :

1. *Collected works of Sri R.G. Bhandarkar*, IV (ed. by N.A. Utgikar), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1929, where the Rāma cult is said to be of a modern growth.
2. *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, 2nd ed., Calcutta University, 1936, p. 174.
3. "The Earliest Inscription of Rāma Worship", *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Kanaklal Barua Commemoration Volume), eds. R.D. Choudhury and Shribhagawan Singh, Delhi, 1990,207-10.
4. Her Poona (*V.V. Mirashi, Inscriptions of the Vakatakas, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. V. Ootacamund, 1963, pp. 7-8) and Riddhapur (ibid., pp. 55-57) plates were issued on this *tithi*. She was a *parama-bhāgavata*, i.e., 'a great devotee of the *bhagavat* (Vishṇu)'.
5. J. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : Coins of Ancient India*, British Museum, London, 1936, pp. cx, 179-81, pl. XXIV. 5-14.
6. K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari, *A Copper-plate hoard of the Gupta Period from Bagh, Madhya Pradesh*, New Delhi- Mysore, 1990, p.1,lines 1-5.
7. See my review of the above work in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1992, p. 129.
8. See V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era, CII*, Vol IV, Ootocamand, 1955, pp. 6,9,11.
9. Ramesh and Tewari, *op.cit.*, Introduction, pp. vii-viii.

2. TRICHY PALLAVA 'KĀVĒRĪ-DHARA'

Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat

Work of the epigraphist includes discovering, reading and interpreting and translating inscriptions. After some introductory remarks, we present here a fresh translation and interpretation of an inscription first discovered and translated more than a century ago. It is the long poem of eight *Ślōkas* engraved on the pilasters forming the Śiva-Gaṅgādhara panel in the cave-temple near the summit of the Rock-Fort Hill, Trichy.[1]

The author of this cave-temple, King Mahēndravikramavarma Pallava, was also one of the great poets of India. The earliest extant *prahasanas* (farces) in Indian literature were written by this king : the *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka*. A knowledge of these two Sanskrit works is helpful in making sense of some of the royal titles inscribed in series on the pillars and pilasters of Mahēndra's Trichy cave-temple. Without a knowledge of his play, *Mattavilāsa*, how would one have interpreted his royal title, '*Mattavilāsaḥ*' ?- (which appears on the right facade pilaster of the cave-temple). Or take the title '*Kuhakaḥ*', on the fourth pillar-what is its meaning ? The answer is also found in the world of theater.

Abhinavagupta... commenting on Bharata's list of determinants of the comic sentiment, understands "*kuhaka*", the term used for "trickery", to refer specifically to tickling, to "touching children's necks, armpits, and the like, in order to surprise them " (Problems).?[2]

It can be seen that Mahēndra's title, '*Kuhakaḥ*', is directly related to the fact that he poked fun at the world through his *prahasanas*.

Or, again, consider Mahēndra's title, '*Virasaḥ*', on the second pillar of the Trichy cave-temple. According to us,the new Dictionary of Contemporary Tamil gives the meaning (or one of the major meanings) of this *biruda* succinctly in its Tamil form, (*virasam*): "vulgarity; obscenity"-syn. (*āpāsam*): "pornography; salaciousness; lewdness".[3]

Our translation of Mahēndra's play, Bhagavadajjuka, has been staged more than ten times since 1977, and invariaby one particular passage (line 172) is censored on stage as being too obscence! for modern sensibilities.[4] Evidently, there were some in Mahēndra's seventh century audience who must have felt the same way, and the king sportingly added a new *biruda* to his long list of titles.

Finally, consider one of Mahēndra's most frequently used titles, one used in the dedicatory name of his Śīyamaṅgalam cave-temple inscription, and also found on the second pillar of his Trichy cave-temple : '*Avanibhājanaḥ*'. Could one presume to have interpreted this *biruda* properly without taking into account its appearance in the context of the highly philosophical Nandi ślōka of Mahēndra's play, *Mattavilāsa* ?-

bhāshạ-vēsha-vapuḥ-kriyā-guṇa-kṛitān-
āśritya bhēdān gataṁ
bhāvāvēśa-vaśād-anēka-rasatāṁ trailōkya-
yātrā-mayam /
nṛittaṁ nish-pratibaddha-bōdha-mahimā
yaḥ prēkskaś-cha svayaṁ

sa vyāpt āvaniphajanaṁ diśatu vō divyaḥ Kapālī yaśaḥ / /[5]

To turn, now, to the long inscription of Mahēndra's Trichy cave-temple, we note that the first four verses are on the northern pilaster, and the last four verses are on the southern one. The number '2' is actually engraved at the end of the second verse on the northern pilaster. If the inscriptiion had begun on the southern pilaster, this verse would have been number '6'.

In earlier publications we have differed with the first translator, E.Hultzsch, on the interpretation of words which occur in the first verse (second line) and second verse (fifth line) of the inscription on the northern pilaster.[6] The word '*nidhāya*' in the first verse was translated by Hultzsch as 'placed':

When king Guṇabhara placed a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple...[7] Thus, Hultzsch and all scholars who, followed him failed to realize that the 'stone-figure' (*śailīn-tanuṁ*) referred to was the Śiva-Gaṅgādhara image in the panel.

The words, '*girīndra kanyā*' in the second verse were interpreted by Hultzsch as referring to 'Pārvatī'. We have held, though, that the primary referent, here, is Gaṅgā - who, like Pārvatī, is also called 'Daughter of the mountain'. After all, the goddess Gaṅgā appears in the panel, whereas Pārvatī does not.

Then, Hultzsch had read the last word of the tenth line (first word of the last verse) as '*śilā[kha]rēṇa*' ('stone-chisel'). The brackets indicated that Hultzsch considered the letter '*kha*' to be indistinct. We have pointed out that this letter is not at all indistinct, and that it is actually '*k̲h̲a*' and not '*kha*'. We, therefore, read the word as '*śilāksharēṇa*', and translate it now as 'imperishable-stone'.

Our most important claim is that both the poem and the sculpture to which it refers have multiple layers of meaning- and thus the figure of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara is also a portrait of the Pallava king, Mahēndra, himself. This identity in difference, then, is the real meaning of the first verse, which, in the translation of Hultzsch, states that king Mahēndra, in making

a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple on the top of the best of mountains,... made in this way Sthāṇu (Śiva) stationary and became himself stationary (i.e., immortal) in the worlds together with Him.[8]

The final verse in the inscription on the southern pilaster was translated thus by Hultzsch :

By the stone-chisel a material body of *Satyasaṁdha* [king Mahēndra] was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.[9]

Our reading is quite different !

Through *Satyasandha's* bodily image (*bhautikī-mūrttiḥ*) created out of imperishable stone (*śilāksharēṇe*), an embodiment of his fame has also been made imperishable!

'*Satyasandha*' was a well-known title of King Mahēndra. It also is one of the 108 sacred names of Lord Śiva. Thus, this last verse of the poem, like the very first, tells us that the central image in this panel is both Śiva-Gaṅgādhara as well as a portrait of King Mahēndra.

In verse Five, the poet reckons that the 'Daughter of the Mountain' (Gaṅgā) has left her father's family to stay permanently on this mountain (Rock-Fort Hill), calling the river Kāvērī, the beloved wife of the Pallava king.

In this way, the central figure of the panel can be viewed at one level as Śiva receiving the descending river Gaṅgā on the locks of his hair. At another level, this same figure represents King Mahēndra slowing the descent of the river Kāvērī. (May we speculate that Pallava engineers had been involved in some way with the damming of the Kāvērī ?)

The multiple layers of meaning in the Trichy panel parallel the multiple layers of meaning which are found in classical Sanskrit plays. In Mahēndra's two plays, the Sūtradhara recites the Nandi ślōka and then acts out the prologue together with an assistant (the *Vidūshaka* in Bhagavadajjuka, and the Naṭī in *Mattavilāsa*). Then the play proper begins, and the *sūtradhāra* and his assistant take on the major roles there. In the Bhagavadajjuka, the Sūtradhāra takes the role of the leading character in the play proper, the *Parivrajāka*, while his assistant, the *Vidūshaka*, assumes the role of the Parivrājaka's disciple. What we have in this arrangement, then, are roles within roles acted out in a play within a play. A knowledgeable spectator would be aware that the actors, here, have dual personalities (a role within a role). These conventions are highly sophisticated, and they have been lost sight of during the last thousand years.

Similarly, the great Trichy panel is multi-layered in its import. It is at the same time both a Śiva-Gaṅgādhara' panel as well as a 'Pallava-kāvērīdhara' panel. If we are correct in our understanding, the central figure is then the greatest royal portrait that exists in India.

ŚIVA-GAṄGĀDHARA / PALLAVA-KĀVĒRĪDHARA

(V. 1) When King Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) made a stone figure (*śailīn-tanuṁ* : the relief image of Śiva - Gaṅgādhara / Pallava-Kāvērīdhara) in the wonderful stone abode on top of the king of mountains (the Rock-Fort Hill), this ruler, (entitled) '*Vidhi*' (the Creator), made *Sthāṇu* (Śiva's name) literally meaningful ('*sthāṇu*' stationary/firmly fixed) and became himself sthāṇu (fixed, immortal) together with him on earth.

(V. 2) The lord of this earthly realm, Śatrumalla ('Foe-mauler', i.e., King Mahēndra), made on this mountain an abode in order that the name of Girīśa ('Mountain-dweller'), husband of the 'Daughter of the king of Mountains' (Gaṅgā) should be made literally meaningful.

(V. 3) When Hara (Śiva) affectionately asked him, 'How can I, while remaining in an earthly abode, see the great wealth of the Chōḻa province and the river Kāvēri ?', King Guṇabhara, the fame of whose empire rivals that Manu, ordered for Him (Śiva) this sky-scraper mountain-abode.

(V. 4) This Purushōttama who, with pleasure, made an incomparable stone figure of Hara, has, besides making (*kṛitvā*) it on top of the mountain, borne (a visible form of) Śiva, God immanent, on his head and, thus, made the immovable ones' (*achalasya*) lofty-souledness manifest.

(V. 5) Suspecting that the God who is fond of rivers (Śiva), on seeing the Kāvērī, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love with her(also), the 'Daughter of the Mountain' (Gaṅgā) has left her father's family to reside, I reckon, permanently on this mountain, calling this river (Kāvērī) the beloved wife of the Pallava (king).

(V. 6) As the king called Guṇabhara has become embodied in this image (*liṅgini* = Kāvērīdhara/Gaṅgādhara), let the wisdom which has been brought back from the enemy circle forever be spread by this same image (*liṅgēna*) throughout the world !

(V. 7) This mountain is, as it were, the diadem of his (Mahēndra's) Chōḷa province, this abode of Hara his (diadem's) chief jewel, and the splendor of Śaṅkara (Gaṅgādhara) his (Kāvērīdhara's crest-jewel's) splendor.

(V. 8) Through Satyasandha's bodily image (*bhautikī-mūrttiḥ*) created out of imperishable stone (*śilāksharēṇa*), an embodiment of his fame has also been made imperishable!

1. Śailēndra- mūrddhani śilā- bhavanē vichitrē
   mountrain-foremost top-of-on stone abode- in wonderful- in
2. Śailīn- tanuṁ Guṇabharō nṛipatir-nnidhāya [1]
   stone-body Guṇabhara king caused-to-be-made-having
3. Sthāṇuṁ vyadhatta Vidhir=ēsha yathārtta saṁjñaṃ
   Sthāṇu attained Creator/this meaning-true-to name
4. Sthāṇuḥ svayañ- cha saha tēna jagatsu jātaḥ [1]
   fixed himself also together Him-with worlds-in become-has
5. Gṛiham=akṛita Śatrumallō girīndra- kanyā
   abode made Śatrumalla mountain-king daughter-of
6. patēr- g-girāv= asmiṁ [1] Girīśasya girīśa
   husband's mountain-on this Girīśā's 'mountain-dweller'
7. Saṁjñam=anvartthī-kartum =artthapatiḥ —2—
   name meaningful to-make the-king
8. Vibhūtin-Choḷānāṁ katham= aham=avek
   wealth Chōḷas-of how I see-will
9. ya vipulāṁ nadīṁ vā Kāvērīm=avani-bhavanāva-
   which immense river and Kāvērī earth-abode remaining
10. sthita iti [1] Harēṇōktaḥ prītyā vibhur= adiśa-
    thus Hara-by=asked-having-been affection-with the-king ordered-to-be-made
11. d=abhram-lihaṁ= idam-Manu-prakhyō [rājyē giri] - bhavana-
    cloud touching this Manu famous country-in mountain-abode
12. m=asmai Guṇabharaḥ [3] Nirmmāpitām= iti mudā
    Him-for Guṇabhara made-caused-to-be thus pleasure-with
13. Purushōttamēna śailīṁ Harasya tanum=aprati-
    Purushottama-by stone Hara's body unimaged (incomparable)

14. mām=anēna [1] kṛitvā Śivaṁ śirasi dhārayat=ātma-
him-by made-having Śiva head-on holder heart-

15. saṁstham= uchchaiḥ śirastvam =achalasya kritaṁ kritā-
firmly-fixed-in high-on head-being mountain's made-was meaing-to

16. rttham [4]

1. Kāvērīn-nayanābhirāma-salilām= ārā-
Kāvērī eye=pleasing water-possessor garden

2. ma-mālā- dharām dēvō vīkshya nadī- priyaḥ
garland-bearer the-God on-seeing river-lover

3. priya-guṇām= apy= ēsha rajyēd= iti[|] sāśaṁ
pleasing quality-possessor though this desired thus suspecting

4. kā Giri- kanyakā pitṛi- kulaṁ hitvēha manyē gi-
Mountain-daughter-of father's family leaving=here I=guess mountain-on

5. rau nityan-tishṭhati Pallavasya dayitām= ētāṁ bru-
forever stations (herself) Pallava's wife this calling

6. vāṇā nadīm [5] Guṇabharā-nāmani rājany=anēna li-
river Guṇabhara-named- king this-by image-by

7. ṅgēna liṅgini jñānam [1] prathatān-chirāya lōkē vi-
image-having-became-embodied-in wisdom renowned-be for-long the-world-in enemy

8. paksha-vṛittēḥ parāvṛittam [6] Chōḷa- vishayasya śailō-
circle-from brought-back Chōḷa province-of mountain

9. maulir= ivāyaṁ mahā- maṇir= ivāsya [1] Hara-gṛiham=ēta-
diadem like=this great jewel like=his Hara-abode this (his Chōḷa province)

10. j- jyōtis- tadīyam= iva Śaṁkaram jyōtiḥ [7] Śilāksharē-
splendour his (crest-jewel's) like Śaṅkara's splendor stone= imperishable -out-of

11. ṇa janitā Satyasandhasya bhautikī [1] mūrttiḥ kīrttima-
created-has-been Satyasandha's bodily image fame-full-of

12. yī chāsya kṛitā tēnaiva śāśvatī [8] Nishkṛishya-chalāsa-
and-his made-has-been it-(stone)-by eternal

13. madhāyi Guṇabharē bhaktiḥ [para]...

1.	ātmasaṁsthaṁ	śivaṁ	achalasya	śirasi	kṛitvā
	5	2	7	3	1
2.	ātmasaṁsthaṁ	śivaṁ	śirasi	dhārayata	
	5	2	3	4	
3.	achalasya	uchchaiśśirastvaṁ	kṛitārtthaṁ	kṛitaṁ	
	7	6	9		
4.	"	"	"	"	
5.	"	"	"	"	

1. by making (a figure of) Śiva, God immanent, on top (head) of the mountain
2. bearing on his head Śiva, God immanent
3. the lofty souledness of the immovable (achalasya = of the mountain) manifest.
4. the lofty souledness of the immovable (achalasya = of śthāṇu = of Śiva) manifest.
5. the softy souledness of the immovable (achalasya = of śthāṇu = of the king) manifest.

Notes & References:

1 Hultzsch (ed.), *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1890, pp. 28-30.

2 Lee Siegel, *Laughing Matters* (Delhi : Banarsidass, 1989), p. 16.

3 (Madras : Cre-A, 1992).

4 King Mahēndravarman's Plays, eds.M. Lockwood & A.V. Bhat (Madras Tambaram Research Associates, 1991), p.43.

5 We discuss various levels of meaning of this Nandi ślōka on pp. 66-68 of king Mahēndravarman's Plays.

6 In our book, Mahabalipuram Studies (Madras : The C.L.S., 1974), pp. 37-41; and in our article, "The Philosophy of Mahēndra's Tiruchchirapalli Epigraph" in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. III. 1976, pp. 91-102.

7 Hultzsch, p. 30.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

3. TERRITORIAL READJUSTMENTS UNDER VIJAYANAGARA IN THE ĀNDHRA COUNTRY

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy,

The year 1323 A.D. was the fateful year in the history of the Āndhra country. It is during this year that the mighty Kākatīya kingdom, which held sway over almost the entire Āndhra Country (except the Kaliṅga region) crumbled. In the words of M. Somasekhara Sarma : "The year of 1323 A.D. sealed the fate of Warangal. After the final subjugation of the Maharata kingdom the whole weight of Muslim invasion to the South fell on the kingdom of the Kākatīyas of warangal, who resisted with all their might the fury of the invading forces; but the oft-repeated invasions, no doubt, broke the morale of the Hindus and paved the way for the success of the Muslims". (*A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra Country,* p.8). The chaotic conditions that followed this event were graphically described in the Vilasa grant of Prōlayanāyaka.

Thirteen years after this event (i.e., 1336 A.D.) the Vijayanagara kingdom was founded in Karnataka empire which ultimately grew into a vast empire, the biggest ever in South India. The Vijayanagara was founded as a bastion of Hindu faith. Its chief purpose was to revive the ancient Hindu culture and to restore faith in people whose morale, as noted above, was throughly shaken. This was the major difference between the compulsions of the earlier kingdoms and the Vijayanagara empire. This necessitated the Vijayanagaras to redraw the political map of South India. The present paper aims at analysing the efforts of the Vijayanagara rulers in redrawing the map of the Āndhra country by about the end of the 14th century. Before attempting this it would be pertinent to make a note of some of the important territorial divisions that existed prior to the end of the 14th century. The following is a list of some of such important divisions :

1. *Sindavāḍi - 1000* (parts of Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellari districts; 9th - 13th century) Ādavāni - 500 was included in this division, while Tuṁbuḷa - 30, Garuje - 70 and Mañchaḷu - 70 were among the subdivisions included in Ādavāni - 500.

2. *Adhirājēndra - ma ṇḍalam or Ādhirājēndraśōla - manḍalam* (1078 to 13th century), called so after the Chōḷa emperor Adhirājēndra (1067-70), covered. parts of Cuddapah dt. Mērpākkai-nāḍu formed a part of this division.

3. *Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṅdalam* (1014-1290). This division was so named after the epithet *Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷan* or Chōḷa Rājarāja I (985 - 1014). In it were included the following sub-divisions: Perumbāṇapp=āḍi, Puli-nāḍu, Aṅgaḍipātta-nāḍu, Tūy-nāḍu, Nellūr-nāḍu, Paiyūrilaṅgōṭṭam, Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam, Chēdikula mānikkavaḷanāḍu, pūṅgai-nāḍu and Pottapi-nāḍu. This division comprised parts of Nellore and Chittoor districts.

4. Ēruva-vishaya, Ēruva-mūṇḍu-ḍeb badulu (Eruva-thrice-seventy). Probably this consisted of three sub-

divisions each of 70. (c 656 - 13th century) It comprised parts of Prakasam, Nellore, Cuddapah and Kurnool dts.

5. *Karma-rāshṭra* (3rd century - 1280). This division covered parts of Guntur and Prakasam dts.

6. *Kanne - 300* (1057 - 1107) : This division covered parts of Kurnool and Mahboobnagar districts.

7. *Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi* (1117 - 1282) : It is known from inscriptions that the Eastern Chalukya king Kubja Vishṇuvardhana (624 - 41) granted the country of 73 villages 'lying to the west of the hill' to an officer Buddhavarma I as a fief. It is suggested that the expression 'west of the hill' refers to the region lying west to Koṇḍavīḍu in Guntur district. This division covered Sattenapalli, Narasaraopēṭ, Guntur and Vinukonda taluks of Guntur dt.

8. *Kudūrahāra, Kudrāhāra, Gudravāra-Vishaya* : (3-4 century - 1172). This division covered major part of the Krishna district.

9. *Mahārājapāḍi - 7000 :* (1005 - 1233) : This division corresponded more or less to parts of the present Cuddapah and Chittoor districts. An inscription of 1107 A.D. refers to this division as Mārjavāḍi.

10. *Naḷavāḍi - vishaya :* (657 - 1215) This is also referred to as Naravāḍi- 500 in some inscriptions. It comprised parts of Kurnool and Anantapur districts.

11. *Noḷāmbavāḍi - 32,000 :* This division covered parts of Anantapur, Bellary, Tumkur and Kolar districts.

12. *Pāka-nāḍu (969 - 1291)* : Some inscriptions refer to this division as Pāka-nāḍu - 21,000. Kadapa-12, Pagāma-nāḍu, Kudūr-nāḍu, Nellūri-sthala, Podile-nāḍu, etc., formed parts of this division. It comprised major parts of Nellore, portions of Guntur, Prakasam and Cuddapah districts.

13. *Paḷḷi-rashṭra, Palli-nāḍu - 300 (673 - 1288):* This corresponds to modern Palnadu taluk of Guntur district.

14. *Rēnāṇḍu - 7000 :* (6th - 12th century). It corresponded to parts of Cuddapah, Chittoor and Kolar districts.

15. *Velanāḍu - 6000 :* (755 - 1261) This division covered parts of Guntur and Krishna districts.

It may be noted that at some stage or the other some of the above divisions enjoyed independent or feudal status. For example, during the early period Rēnāṇḍu - 7000 enjoyed indepedent status. The divisions Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi and Velanāḍu were of feudal status. The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis were the subordinate chiefs of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. The chief of Vela-nāḍu, who started their political career as the subordinate of first the Eastern Chāḷukyas and later of the Chōḷas, declared independence when the Chōḷa power was on decline. They enjoyed indepedent status till the last chief Pṛithvīśvara was routed by Kākatīya Gaṇapati. One of the notable features of the Kākatīya administration was the grant of maximum of instances, where these subordinate chiefs did not bother to mention their overlords. Still it is true that almost all the subordinate

chiefs remained loyal to the kākatiyas. However, during the pre-Kākatiya period the subordinate chiefs did not hesitate to desert their overlords when the occassion suited them. We have already noted that the Velanāṭi chiefs did not lose time to declare themselves independent when they found that the imperial Chōḷa throne was shaky. Even during the Kākatiya period one subordinate chief, Kāyastha Aṁbadēva, was arrogent enough to challenge the power of Rudrama. He successfully declared independence and ruled part of the Cuddapah district in that status till he was again humbled by Pratāparudra, the grandson and successor of Rudrama. However, in all these cases of exploiting the opportunity by the subordinate chiefs did not result in any great social or religious or cultural catostrophy. The kingdom merely passed on from one dynasty to another.

But the events that took place in the first half of the 14th century were totally of different kind. The Muslims, who had already built up a huge empire in the north, succedded in conquering the South as well. It was at this historical crisis that the Vijayanagara empire was founded as a bastion of Hindu faith. The responsibility taken up, willingly, by the early Vijayanagara rulers was by no means small. In fact theirs was an unenviable position. They had to build the empire from scratch. Though this burden was taken up and the Vijayanagara grew into a vast empire and formidable military power still the situation was not exactly rosy. Parts of Karnataka had already been lost to Muslims. In the east they were constantly challenged by the Gajapatis. Thus the exigency was such that the Vijayanagara kings were compelled to do away with some of the old practices and innovate new ones to suit the situation. Among such the redrawal of the political map was one and this they did with meticulous care and thoroughness. In this process many old divisions disappeared from the map. The numerical divisions were done away with. As noted above the Muslim onslaught in 1323 A.D. disrupted the social and economic life of the Andhra Country very badly. The administrative divisions with numerical appellations lost their original significance as several villages were destroyed by the Muslim invaders. This must have led to dispensing away with this system by the successors of the Kākatīyas. The practice of naming a division after an epithet of a ruler, which was much favoured by the imperial Chōḷas, was given up. Instead many divisions came to be known after their chief towns. An important feature was that a place with an impregnable fort was made headquarters of a major division. The following is the list of some of the important territorial divisions which can be seen on the political map of the Vijayanagara.

1) *Udayagiri-rājya* : Pāka-nāḍu, Jaladaṅki-sīma, Kandūru-sīma, Duvvūri-sthalam, Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma, etc., formed part of this division.

2) *Jagatāpi-Gutti-rājya* : Penakacherla-sīma, penna-māgāni, Pulēṭi-māgāṇi, etc., were included in this division.

3) *Penugoṇḍa-rājya* : Pedakanṭi-sīma, Vāvilipāṭi-Chāvaḍi, Rodda-nāḍu, etc., formed part of this division.

4) *Koṇḍapalli-rājya* : This covered Krishna district.

5) *Koṇḍavidu-rājya* : Vinukoṇḍa-sīma, Bellaṁkoṇḍa-sīma, Nāgārjuna koṇḍa-

sīma were included in this.

6) *Rāyadurgam-rājya* : Kundurupi-sīma, Būdigumma-sīma, Urōkoṇḍa-vēṇṭhya were included in this.

7) *Chandragiri-rājya* : Paḍa-nāḍu or Paḍanāḍu-sīma, etc., were included in this division.

A comparative study of the pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara political maps leads us to the following conclusions:

1) The earlier divisions viz., Kammanāḍu, Velanāḍu, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi and Palli-nāḍu were brought under Koṇḍavīḍurājya. Koṇḍavīḍu, the headquarters of the *rājya* was a strong hill fort in the Guntur district.

2) The earlier divisions like Gudravāra-vishaya, which were situated on the northern bank of the river Kṛishṇā, were included in the Koṇḍapalli-rājya. The headquarters of this *rājya* was also a strong hill fort in Krishna dt.

3) Parts of the earlier divisions like Sindavāḍi, Naḷavāḍi, Noḷaṁbavāḍi formed part of the Jagatāpi-Gutti-rājya or Gutti-rājya. Gutti was a strong hill fort in Anantapur district.

4) Penugoṇḍa-rājya comprised parts of modern Anantapur district and Penugoṇḍa was also a formidable hill fort in the same Anantapur district.

5) Rāyadurgam-rājya comprised parts of the Anantapur district bordering Karnataka. Rāyadurgam too was an impregnable fort.

6) The Udayagiri-rājya covered Nellore and Cuddapah districts. Udayagiri was a hill fort in the Nellore district.

7) Chandragiri-rājya comprised parts of the older divisions like Mahārājā pāḍi-7000, Rēnāḍu-7000, Jayangoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam. Chandragiri was a strong hill fort in the Chittoor district.

The above seven divisions clearly show the strategic importance of the headquarters of these *rājyas*. These *rājyas* were thus very intelligently conceived and with their emergence the older divisions like Sindavāḍi-1000, Velanāḍu, Kammanāḍu, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, Palli-nāḍu, Guravāra-vishaya, Naḷavāḍi, Noḷaṁbavāḍi, Mahārājā-pāḍi-7000, Jayangoṇḍaśola - maṇḍalam disappeared from the political map of the country. Any stray reference to any of these divisions in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period merely shows that they were still remembered by some but were of no significance.

These *rājyas* were divided into *sīmas*. The division *sīma*, which was the innovation of the Reḍḍi kings, who preceded the Vijayanagara in the coastal Andhra country, became very popular during the Vijayanagara period. *Polam, chāvaḍi, māgāṇi, vēṇṭhya* were some of the sub-divisions introduced by the Vijayanagaras in Āndhra.

The above mentioned *rājyas*, the headquarters of which were formidable forts, were generally placed in the hands of a *daṇḍanāyaka*, who often held the position of *mahāpradhāna* also. "As long as the emperors of Vijayanagara gave priority to the noble purpose for which the empire was created, these powerful generals and the newly established local ruling families were ready with their men and arms to rush to the emperors aid whenever threatened by external invasions. It is abundantly clear from known facts of history that the reorganised divisions and administrative set up created in the minds of the nobles, generals and people a new sense of loyalty to the empire as a whole in so far as the emperors kept up the noble ideals of the founders of Vijayanagara. This loyalty to the empire was clearly demonstrated on two occasions, once when the generals and chieftains set aside the decadent house of Śangama and raised Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to the throne in 1486 A.D., and again when they dethroned the Sāḷuvas and placed the empire under Tuḷuva sway in 1505 A.D. On both these occasions the nobles and generals saved the empire from near extinction. But the knowledge of their power and influence finally proved to be the undoing of the empire".

4. AMARĒŚVARA TEMPLE PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RĀMATĪRTHA, ŚAKA 1482

Ananta Kulakarni

The village Rāmatīrtha, located in the Athani Taluka of Belgaum District, about 25 km to the north-east of Athaṇi, belonged to 'Uṁbaravāṇi-mūvattāru', a sub-division of 'Kaṇaṁbaḍe-mūnūru', a division of 'Karahāṭanālsāshira' province of 'Kuntaḷa-desa'. It housed the famous temple of Rāmēśvara who was the titulary deity of Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara of the said Umbaravāṇi-mūvattāru, who bore in his titles the expression "srī Svāyambhu Rāmēsvaradēva pādābja = bhṛiṅga".[1]

The Descriptive List of Stone and Copper-Plate Inscriptions examined by Kannaḍa Research Institute (K.R.I.), Dharwad[2] contains in all five stone inscriptions of Rāmatīrth of which two are published in Volume 2 of *Karnataka Inscriptions.*[3] They are royal charters dated 1115 and 1167 A.D. referring to the reign of Western Chāḷukyan king Vikramāditya VI and kalachūri king Bijjaḷa II respectively. The inscription presented here, for the first time, is the third one (No. 79 of the above list) located in the Amarēśvara temple.

Before presenting the Amarēśvara temple record inscribed on the pillar, it is necessary to note briefly the history of this temple as gleaned from the earlier inscriptional evidence found in the neighbouring villages in the Uṁbaravāṇi region. This will help us to appreciate and appraise the record better.

2. History of Amarēśvara Temple

The Kōhaḷḷi inscription[4] belonging to the reign period of the Western Chāḷukya king Pratāpa Chakravarti Jagadēkamalla and dated 1149 A.D. records not only the construction of the Gaṅgēśvara temple in Kōhaḷḷi by Satya, one of the sons of Kāḷidāsa-sachiva of *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Hemmāḍi of Uṁbaravāṇi, in the name of his grandfather Gaṅgādhara-sachiva, but also narrates the construction of temples and tanks, etc., by Kāḷidasa himself and his other sons, Gaṅga, Narasiṁha and Saṅkarasa, elsewhere in the Uṁbaravāṇi region. It states in lines 31 and 32 :[5]

> "... *Saṅkarasaṁ mudadi nāmānkitamam Rāmatīrtha dakshiṅa taṭadoḷu Śankara =ṇenippa liṅgamaṁ nikara vastiyalu pratishṭheyam māḍisidam*".

that is, Saṅkarasa (son of Kāḷidāsa) installed a liṅga called Śaṅkara on the southern side of Rāmatirtha (stream flowing east-west).

The Baḷḷigēri Inscription which belongs to the reign period of Tribhuvanamalla[6] and records gifts to the temple of Nāraśh iṁhēśvara constructed by Narasiṁha ṣachiva, another son of Kāḷidāsa noted above, in Baḷḷigēri, confirms the above installation of "Śaṅkaran=enippa liṅga" by Saṅkarasa in line 72 as follows :[7]

> "... *Vara [Rā]matīrtha dakshiṇa girīndra taṭadoḷu surāsurārchita*
> *Śaṅkēśvarmaṃ nirmisidam Śankaradēvagaṁ*".

It is interesting to note that while the Kōhaḷḷi record locates the temple at the 'Rāmatīrthshda dakshiṇa taṭa' (right bank of the stream flowing east-west) the Balligēri record locates the same at the "Rāmatīrtha dakshiṇa girīndra taṭa" (right edge of the declivity or slope of the hill). Both locate the same spot.

since there is only one liṅga temple at the location, as indicated, besides the principal Rāmēśvara temple, it is obvious that the "Śaṅkśvara" or "Śaṅkaran=enippa liṅga" temple is the same that is now called as Amarēśvara temple, adjoining which is a Nārasiṁha temple with a life-size idol of god Nārasiṁha, which in all probability is the construction of Narasiṁha-sachiva, Saṅkarasa's brother.[8]

3. From Śaṅkēśvara to Amarēśvara

In the course of time, while the Gaṅgēśvara temple at Kōhaḻḻi becomes Saṅgamēśvara temple, and the Nārasi.mh ēsvara temple at Baḻḻigēri becomes Basavaṇṇa temple, so also Śaṅkēśvara changes to Amarēśvara. But the historical forces behind this change are likely to do different in each case. In our particular case of change in the name from Śaṅkēśvara to Amarēśvara, I would like to explain it, with the help of an inscription from the nearby village Saṁkh (Taluka Jath, District Sangli)[9] as folows. This record belonging to the reign period of Yādava Jaitrapāla/Jaitugi II (1192-1200 A.D.) refers, besides giving the lineage of Sthānāchāryas of Svayaṁbhu Rāmēśvara tīrtha, "situated to the south of Umbarāṇi in the province of Karahāḍa - 4000", to one Amarēśvara paṇḍitadeva of the same lineage. It was this Amarēśvara paṇiḍita who received the grants for the benefit of god Māṇikēśvara at Saṁkh and also was bestowed the position of the *Sthānāchārya* of this temple, as detailed in the record. While Śivaśakti-paṇḍita, Lōkābharaṇa paṇḍita and Chandrābharaṇa-paṇḍita are known as pontiffs of the Rāmēśvara temple of Rāmatīrth from the published records of Rāmātirth and Umarāṇi,[10] it is from the Saṁkh record only that we come to know that Amarēśvara paṇḍita, described as "Munirāja Kumāra", of Chandrābharaṇa 'bratīndra' in the record[1]1 succeeded the latter as the pontiff of the Rāmēśvara temple at Rāmatīrtha. Hence it is a plausible surmise that the name of liṅga installed by Saṅkarasa, in his own name, might have got changed from śaṅkēśvara to Amarēśvara because of its later-day association with Amarēśvara paṇḍita,the Sthānāchārya of Rāmēśvara tīrtha.

Though the record from Saṁkh has more than one date for recording the various grants, the last one which refers to Amarēśvara paṇḍita received gifts as the pontiff of Māṇikēśvara temple also is not fully spelt out. It gives only the cyclic year Ānanda and other details viz, Kārtika śu.12, Monday. Without going into the details of the earlier dates so as to link the above, we note that there is surely a gap of 45 years between the Kōhaḻḻi record of Śukla-saṁvatsara and the Saṁkh record of Ānanda-saṁvatśara, within the same cycle of 60 years, which gives 1194 A.D. as the year of Saṁkha record that fits reign period of Yādava Jaitrapala/Jaitugi II.

4. The text of the Inscription

The following is the text of the record inscribed on the right pillar in the Amarēśvara temple written in Nāgarī characters and in spoken Kannada language of the area, with the invocatory portion in Sanskrit.

1. || *Śrī sravātmka-gaṇādhipaatyē na*
2. || *mahạ śri Rāmēśvāraya=namahạ avighnam*
3. || *astu* | *namas=tuṅga śiras =stuṁbi-chandra-chāma*

4. || ra chāravē | trai = lōkya nagara = rambhā

5. || mūlastaṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē || 1 || Svastī śri

6. || nṛipa Śālivāhana Śake 1482 pravarta

7. || māne Raudrī nāma saṁva tsarada Āṣāḍha

8. || Śuddha pañchamī Śukravāra divasa Śrī Rāmē

9. || śvarana dakshiṇa bhāgadalli jīrṇavāda śrī

10. || dēvālyavanu Viśvāmitra-gōtrada Benavara

11. || sana suta Appājīnu prāramb -havanu māḍi Śrā

12. || vaṇa śuddha śhaṣṭhi Ravivāra divasa jirṇōddhā

13. || rava māḍi sri Amarēśvara liṅgana Chitrāna

14. || kshatrada mēle pratishṭhe māḍidanu || sri || sri ||

The record is dated in the year 1560 A.D. when Ali Ādil Shāh I (1558-1580 A.D.) was ruling from Bijapur and five years later to this date the great Vijayanagar empire fell to Ali in 1565 A.D. It states that one Appāji, the son of Benavarasa of Viśvāmitra-gōtra, started the renovation of the temple, to the right of Rāmēśvara (temple), referred to here as "Śrī dēvālya" on Friday, the 28th June and (after its completion) installed Amarēśvara liṅga on Sunday, the 28th July 1560 A.D.

While it difficult to identity the individual named Appājī, he seems, in all probability, to be a revenue official of the nearby village Kakamari, as the hereditary *Kulkarṇis* of that village came from Viśvāmitra-gōtra and Rāmatīrtha is always bracketed with Kakamari and is referred to as Kakamari- Rāmatīrtha, in common parlance even today.

The above text, as read from my estampage has some orthographic errors such as Śukravāra divasa and some typical colloquials such as :

Appājīnu for *Appājiyivanu;*

Prārambhavanu māḍi for *prārambhamāḍi* or *prārambhisi; pratishṭhe māḍidanu* for *pratisṭhāpane māḍidanu* < *pratishṭhisidanu.*

The above record is important for the study of historical changes taking place in the temple complex of this temple-centered village which is fast dilapidating and the temple losing its central importance in the village and neighbourhood.

Notes & References :

1. Vide Panchamukhi, R.S. (ed.), *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, K.R.I., Dharwad, 1951, No. 14, line 55, p, p. 56; No. 24, line 13-14, p. 90.

2. Annigeri and Joshi, K.R.I., Dharwad, 1961.

3. *Op.cit.*, Nos. 13 and 24.

4. Papers presented at the 13th E.S.I. Conference at Patna in 1987 and the 14th Conference at Anantapur in 1988.

5. As read from my estampage.

6. *A.R.Ep.*, 1953-54, No.174. As part of the date portion of the record is lost, Dr. P.B. Desai assigns it to Vikramāditya VI, but Dr. B.R. Gopal notes that, on examination it refers to Kalachuri Bijjala

II who also bore this title. Vide his Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Kalachuris, Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1981, p. 384. The record contains two dates, however.

7. As read from my estampage.

8. That Nārasiṁhasachiva was fond of god Narasiṁha, whose name he bore, is obvious not only from the name Narasiṁhēsvara temple he constructed at Baḷḷigēri but also from another temple he constructed in the same village for the god Tāṇḍava Nārasiṁha, Girijā, etc., as recorded in the Kōhaḷḷi inscription: "nalgam aḷḷangere=yallim dharmam=eseyalu chandrārka tāraṁbaram... devatā=vāsamaṃ kshibbiyaṁ tāṇḍava nārasimha girijā diśādi dēvarge tāṁ lālitam māḍisi Nārashiṃha-sachivaṃ sat=kīrtiyaṁ tāḷdidaṁ" - line[32] et seq. as read from my estampage. This temple stands dilapidated today, even again its conversion as a Vīrabhadra temple.

9. *A.R.E.p, App 1940-41* E, No. 109.

10. *Op.cit.*, Karnataka Inscriptions, Vol. II, Nos. 13, 14 and 24.

11. Line 68, as read from my estampage.

5. RE-EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE NAGARDHAN PLATES OF SVĀMIRĀJA AND THE RITHAPUR GRANT OF NAḶA KING ARTHAPATI

H.S. Thosar

A copper plate grant which was discovered at Nagardhan near Nagpur in Maharastra State, was first edited by the Late Dr. V.V. Mirashi in the Epigraphia Indica[1] and subsequently in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol IV, part - II[2]. The charter was issued by Nannarāja with the consent and during the reign of his elder brother Svāmirāja. The family name of these chiefs is not recorded in this grant, but the similarity of the names of these chiefs with the names of the Rāshṭrakūṭa chiefs mentioned in the Multai, Tivarkhed and Sanglood grants of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja Yuddhāsura, Mirashi treated this Svāmirāja as the progenitor of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha. He had proposed the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha as follows :

Svāmirāja	–	(Nagardhan Plates)
Nannarāja	–	(Nagardhan Plates)
Durgarāja	–	(Multai, Tivarkhed & Sanglood plates)
Govindarāja	–	(" ")
Svāmikarāja	–	(" ")
Nannarāja Yuddhāsura	–	(" ")

While re-examining the Bhindon and Khamkhed plates the present writer had expresed doubts about the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage of Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan Plates.[4] He had also suggested the identification of Durgarāja, the great grand father of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura with his namesake who is mentioned in the Bhindon and Khamkhed grants as a subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karka Pratāpashiṁa, the grandfather of Dantidurga. In these grants also the family name of Durgarāja was not mentioned, but the inference of the present writer about his Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage was substantiated by the recent discovery of two copper plate grants of Durgarāja who is described as a Rāshṭrakūṭa chief.[5] These two copper plates also corroborated the doubt expressed by the present writer about the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage of Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates, because according to Mirashi's geneology, Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates was the successor of Svāmirāja and the predecessor of Durgarāja; where as in the two grants of Rāshṭrakūṭa Durgarāja quoted above, he calls himself as the son of Bappa. ·These facts undoubtedly prove that Svāmirāja and Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates did not belong to any branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Secondly though in all his grants, Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja Yuddhāsura gives his genealogy from his great grandfather Durgarāja; he also claims that his kingdom was his own creation. There is no other evidence indicating the rule of any Rāshṭrakūṭa chief in Vidarbha at a date which is a century anterior to the reign of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura. So it is quite certain that Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates was not at all a Rāshṭrakūṭa chief. Then to which family he belonged and under whom he was governing the Vidarbha region ?

Dr. Mirashi has stated that he was governing the Vidarbha province as the subordinate of Kṛishṇarāja, the

Kalachuri ruler of Mahishmati, because in the Nagardhan plates Svāmirāja has been described as meditating at the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka whom Mirashi has identified with Kṛishṇarāja Kalachuri. This view is also untenable, because though Kṛishṇarāja's name has been mentioned in his son's grants, no charter of this king has been discovered so far. The attribution of a coin named 'Kṛishṇarājarūpyaka' to this king is also an inference which is yet to be corroborated by a positive evidence. It is further to be noted that in his Abhona grant, Śhankiaragaṇa Kalachuri (the son of Kṛishṇarāja) takes the credit of carving his kingdom to himself.[6] So Kṛishṇarāja Kalachuri cannot be treated as the overlord of Svāmirāja as there is no positive evidence about his reign.

Dr. Mirashi has interpreted the term 'Bhaṭṭāraka' as meaning 'a master' or 'lord paramount',which is also not convincing. Since Svāmiraja has mentioned this name as the name of his overlord, it must be a proper name of a king or atleast his epithet or second name. Bhaṭṭāraka was the second name of the Nala king Arthapati, the successor of Bhavadattavarman, who is said to have conquered the Vidarbha region from the Vākāṭakas. This presumption is based on the Rihapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman.[7] Interestingly this charter was also actually issued by Arthapati and from the same town of Nandivardhana from which Svāmirāja had issued his Nagardhan plates under study. It shows that Nandivardhana, which was the earstwhile royal seat of the Vākāṭakas continued to be the provincial headquarters of this region under the Nalas. As the Nagardhan grant has been issued from Nandivardhana from which the Rihapur grant of Nala Arthapati has been issued; it follows that Swāmirāsraja was probably govering this region as a subordinate of the Nalas. In the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin-II, the Nalas and the Mauryas of Koṅkan have been mentioned as the adversaries of Kīrtivarman - I[8]. This evidence confirms the Nala rule over Northern Deccan during the later half of the sixth century A.D. The Nagardhan plates under study belong to the same period. Another factor of similarity between the Rithapur plates of the Nalas and the Nagardhana plates of Svāmirāja is that in both these grants the endowment was made by the king when he had gone to Prayāga on a pilgrimage. These evidences clearly show that Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates was a vassal of the Nalas of Baster. If this view is accepted, then we get a clue to ascertain the ancenstry of Svāmirāja.

Since the Nalas have been mentioned as the arch enemies of the Chālukyas of Bādami in the latter's charters, Svāmirāja, who was a subordinate chief of the Nalas also must have clashed with the Chālukyas. In this respect the reference in the Nērūr grant of Chalukya Maṅgaḷēsa to Svāmirāja Chālukya, as enemy slain by the former is significant.[9]

This Svāmirāja Chālukya who was killed by Maṅgaḷesa has not been satisfactorily identified so far. He may be identified with Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates on the basis of the following points :

1. no other ruler having exactly the same name, and belonging to the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. is known so far.

2. As Svāmirāja of the Nagard-

han plates was a subordinate of the Nalas, his clash with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and his subsequent death at the hands of Maṅgaḷesa is quite likely, because he was ruling over the Vidarbha region which had witnessed raids by the Chālukyas.

3. The Chālukya lineage of Svāmirāja has not been mentioned in the Nagardhan plates, but such a possibility cannot be ruled out; because a branch of the Chālukyas was already ruling in south Gujarat long before the foundation of the Vātāpi kingdom of the Chālukyas.[10] A Chālukya chief Satyāśhraya is seen as ruling over the Dhulia district of Khandesh in Maharashtra as per the testimony of the Pimpalner plates dated 388 A.D.[11] The recently published Mehunbare inscription mentions a Chālukiya family ruling over the Khandesh-Vidarbha region during the seventh century A.D.[12] Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates might be a member of one of these branches of the Chālukyas. It is further to be noted that no other charter of this Svāmirāja is available so far. It shows that his rule came to an end before the end of the sixth century A.D.

4. In the Nērūr grant Svāmiraja, who was slain by Maṅgaḷēsa has been described as a king. It shows that he was a ruler of a territory. The Nagardhan plates were issued after their approval by Svāmirāja. It follows that though a vassal, Svāmirāja was a ruler excercising the authority or issuing charters. Scholars have tried to identify the Svāmiraja slain by Maṅgaḷesa, but no contemporary chief, with exactly the same name has been shown, who was a ruling king.[13] In these circumstances Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates can be identified with his namesake of the Nērūr grant referred to above.

5. In the Nērūr grant, Svāmirāja Chālukya slain by Maṅgaḷesa has been mentioned alongwith another adversary of the latter i.e. Buddharāja Kalachuri. This indicates that both of these adversaries of Maṅgaḷesa were neighbours of each other and were vanquished by the Chālukya king in the same expedition. The Abhona and Vadner plates indicate that the Kalachuris had extended their territory upto the Nasik-Bhokardan region of Maharashtra.[14] The Rithapur and Nagardhan plates show that the Vidarbha region was not included in the Kalachuri kingdom but was the part of the Nala Kingdom. Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates was thus the eastern neighbour of Buddharāja Kalachuri and so both of these territories were probably invaded by Maṅgaḷēsa in the same expedition as indicated by the Nērūr grant.

6. The date of the Nagardhan grant is about 573 A.D. whereas the probable date of the Nērūr grant is between 590 and 600 A.D. The probable dates of these grants also do not militate against the identification of Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan grant with his name sake of

the Nērūr grant.

If this view is accepted, it will shed a new light on the history of the northern Deccan during the post-Vākāṭaka and Pre-Chālukya period. It will also bring to light some interesting facts about the history of the Vākāṭakas, the Nalas and the Chālukyas of Bādami, which were unknown so far.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE END OF VĀKĀṬAKAS AS GLEANED FROM THE RĪTHAPUR GRANT

It is generally accepted that the rule of both the branches of the Vākāṭakas came to an end in the first half of the sixth century A.D.[15] But so far it has not been established as to who was responsible for the extinction of the Vākāṭaka power. According to some scholars the Kalachuris of Mahishmati put an end to the Vākāṭaka power and occupied their territory.[16] Some scholars give this credit to the Nalas, whereas others to the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.[18]

As far as the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura are concerned, the possibility of a clash between them and the Vākāṭakas can not be ruled out. But they cannot be held responsible for the downfall of the Vākāṭakas. This credit will have to be given to that ruling dynasty which later on governed the territory which was earlier held by the Vākāṭakas. The Kalachuris of Mahishmati governed the western part of the erstwhile Vākāṭaka kingdom as known from the Abhona plates of Shankaragaṇa, but the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra which formed the nucleus of the Vākāṭaka kingdom was never under the jurisdiction of the Kalachuris; though Mirashi has stated like that, because no inscription of the Kalachuris was found in the Vidarbha region. On the other hand the Rithapur grant undoubtedly proves that following the fall of the Vākāṭakas the Nalas of Bastar occupied the Vidhrbha region and continued to hold it till they were ousted by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi as known from the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin-II.

The Rithapur copper plate grant thus establishes the occupation of Vidarbha by the Nalas, but most of the scholars believe that it was before the reign of the last king of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas i.e. Prithvisēna-II. It is also pointed out that the latter ousted the Nalas and re-established his power over his ancestral kingdom as revealed from his own inscriptions.[19] This presumption is due to the confusion about the exact date and authorship of the Rithapur grant, because at the beginning the grant in question mentions the name of Nala king Bhavattavarman, who has been identified with Bhavadattavarman, the first known king of the line of the Nalas of Podagadh. But it was actually issued by the Nala king Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka in his 12th regnal year for the benefit of his own parents.

The exact relationship between Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati also is not clear. According to one suggestion, Arthapati was the son and the successor of Bhavadattavarman, whereas it is also suggested that the latter was Arthapati's grandfather(Āryaka). The possibility of Arthapati and Bhaṭṭārka as having been the epithets of Bhavadattavarman also has been expressed.[20]

The Podhagadh inscription of Nala king Skandavarman clearly states that he was the son of Bhavdattavarman.[21]

So the latter has to be treated as the grandfather of Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka, because nowhere Arthapati has been described as the son of Bhavadattavarman. The Podhagadh inscription clearly states about the relationship between Bhavadattavarman and Skandavarman so the latter will have to be treated as the father of Arthapai. The term'Āryaka' occuring in the Rithapur grant in relation to Bhavattavarman also indicates the same meaning. It is therefore quite likely that Bhavattavarman and Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka mentioned in the Rithapur plates represent the same person. Arthapati was probably named after his illustrious grandfather as per the then current naming practice. It follows that the Rijhapur grant was issued when the Nalas occupied the Vākāṭaka territory during the reign of Arthapati probably after the end of the Vākāṭaka rule.

This presumption is supported by the following epigraphical similarities between the Rithapur grant of Arthapati and the Thelner plates of Vākāṭaka Harisheṇa,[22] the last known king of the Vākāṭaka.

1. Besides much closeness in the letters of both these grants; the name of Boppadēva is common in both. In the Thalner plates he is described as a writer, in the Rithapur plates he is the engraver. He is probably the same person.

2. One more stylistic common factor in these two grants is the method of explaining the genealogical relationship. For example, in the Thalner plates Harisheṇa has been described as the grandson of the grandson of the son of Pravarasēna-I. In the Rithapur plates Boppadeva, the engraver is described as the son's son of Paddopāddhyāya.

3. Another and the most important point in support of the above presumption is the location of the gifted village Kadambagirigrāma occuring in the Rithapur grant of Nala Arthapati. The place has been identified with Kalamb in the Yeotmal district of Vidarbha which is situated in the south-western part of the region and which formed the part of the Vashim branch of the Vākāṭakas. Such a deep penetration of the Nalas into western Vidarbha cannot be expected prior to the reign of Prithvisēna-II. It is possible only after the extinction of both the branches.

If it is so, the Rithapur grant will have to be assigned a date following the complete extinction of the Vākāṭakas. It follows that both the Rithapur and the Nagardhan plates belong to the reign of the Nala king Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka who had probably adopted the name of his grandfather Bhavadattavarman.

The sequence of the clashes between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas, which ultimately brought an end to the latter's power can be worked out as under.

Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri has rightly pointed out that from the time of Narēndrasēna, the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas was attacked from the west by their kins of Vashim and from the east by the Nalas.[23] He has further pointed out that due to this state of affairs Prithvisēna-II, the last member of this branch had to re-establish

the position of his kingdom twice. The Nala king Bhavadattravarman-I seems to have invaded the Vākāṭaka kingdom at the end of Narendrasēna's reign from the north-east and occupied some territory on that border. This act was retaliated by Prithvisēna by storming Pondhagadh, the very royal seat of the Nalas. It was recovered and reorganized by Skandavarman, the son and successor of Bhavadattavarman as known from the Podhagadh inscription. The dynastic rivalry between Harisēna Vākāṭaka of Basagulma branch and Prithvisēna-II of the main branch was probably the case behind the second clash which ultimately ended in the extinction of the main branch and its annexation by Harisēna. Immediately after that Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka of the Nalas invalded the Vākāṭaka kingdom and putting an end to Harsēna's rule occupied the whole Vidarbha region. The Rithapur grant was probably issued shortly after this incident.

Since the Nala capital was situated far away in Baster, Arthapati Bhaṭṭārka seems to have assigned the Vidarbha kingdom to Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates, who seems to have continued to administer it till the end of the sixth century A.D. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi opened their attacks against the Nalas right from the reign of Kirtivarman I. Maṅgaḷēsa completed the task of the conquest of the whole northern Deccan by subduing Buddharāja Kalachuri and by killing Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates. The Nalas were ousted from Vidarbha and henceforth the region passed over to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, who in turn assigned it to the Rāshṭrakūṭa ancestors of Dantidurga as seen from the Bhindon and Khamkheḍ plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka Pratāpaśhila.

The present study thus sets aside the uncertainty about the end of the Vākāṭakas and brings to light the fact that the Nalas had destroyed the Vākāṭaka power. Another fact revealed by the present study is that, since the Nalas had Nandivardhana as their administrative headquarters; it seems that it was the royal seat of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas till its end. In the light of this evidence the problem about the capitals of this branch will have to be reviewed.

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6. TIRUVIḌANDAI INSCRIPTIONS - AN ASSESSMENT

Sathyabhama Madhava Rao.

Tiruviḍandai in Chingleput taluk and district is today an insignificant hamlet situated about 40 Kms from Madras on the Madras-Māmallapuram road. This small village, however, houses an ancient Chōḷa temple presently called Nityakalyāṇaswāmy. Tiruviḍandai or Tiruviḍavandai in inscriptions was one of the 108 Vaishṇava divyadēśas of *Nālāyiradivyaprabandham* fame. The Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār(8th century A.D.)has sung a decad on this Lord. The presence of an inscription of Kaṇṇaradēva, three inscriptions of Pārthivēndravarmaṇ and one of Uttama Chōḷa all on the base of the central shrine establish the existence of this temple of stone prior to the accession of Rājarāja I. Moreover, the temple retains all the early Chōḷa features and can be assigned at the earliest to 10th century A.D. However, the exact time of its construction remains to be a matter of conjecture, but that the temple continued to enjoy patronage can be gleaned from the fact that gifts and grants continuously flowed into the temple. This temple is replete with inscriptions numbering 27[1]. These inscriptions generally conveying gifts and grants highlight two predominant position of this temple and town in medieval days.

Tiruviḍandai (Tiru-iḍa-vēndai) as the Goddess is seated on the left side of Varāhamūrtti was a *dēvadāna* village in Paḍuvūr - nāḍu of Āmūr-kōṭṭam[2]. Subsequently, Rājādhirāja I attributed the surname Kalyāṇapuraṅ-goṇḍachōḷa - kōṭṭam[3] to the territorial division of Āmūr-kōṭṭam.

Two processional images - Maṇavāḷap perumāḷ and Goddess Śrī Bhaṭṭāraki[4] were gifted by two brothers of Taiyūr *alias* Talaiśayaṉapuram and a merchant of Mayilāṟppil respectively.

Numerous gifts and grants were endowed upon this temple. The temple town being situated on the coastline might have also had a rudimentary docking yard for small ships as a number of grants were bestowed by merchants mostly sea-farers. A number of such coastal towns and ports find mention-they include Taiyūr or Talaisayaṉapuram[5], Iṉṉambūr[6] (on the north bank of river Cauvery) Purushōttamamaṅgalam in Vaḷḷuva - nāḍu, a sub-division of Malai - nāḍu[7], Kadarparpaḷḷi in Malai-nāḍu[8], Kuḍuṅgoḷūr in Malai-nāḍu[9] Mayilaṟppil, Tiruvoṟṟiyur[10] and Alaiyūr in Chōnāḍu[13]. However, other personages from inland areas have also contributed towards the upkeep of the temple.

The gifts to the temple were made mostly in gold, land and sheep, but the stipulation was that the interest was not to be paid in cash, but only in kind - namely oil and ghee for burning the perpetual lamp[11] and paddy for feeding the *Brāhmaṇas*[12]. Such a system of receiving interest in kind might have been evolved to minimize the financial transactions involved.

This village boasted of both an *ūr* and a *sabhā*. Infact in many instances the gifts were jointly accepted and administered by both the assemblies[15]. In almost all cases as can be gleaned from inscriptions the *ūr* and the *sabhā* acted as mediators be-

tween the temple and the donors as the gift was accepted by them.(unlike other temples). This highlights the fact that the money gifted was utilized not only for temple purposes but also for the upliftment of the village. However, the interest accrued had to be rendered to the temple. It is significant to note here that the interest received by the temple from the *ūr* or *sabhā* was always uniform - One *uḻakku* of ghee per day or ninety *nāḻi* of ghee per year though the gift of money varied from thirty *kaḻñju* to fifteen *kaḻñju*[16]. Maybe this practice was followed because the purity of gold varied as the names given are also different[17].

As the *ūr* and *sabhā* and not the temple were transacting the financial matters of the temple they were check-mated by the presence of the *Dhanmāsana* or court of justice which appears to have been permanently housed here. The court was also necessary since nearby *ūr's* and *sabha's* also accepted gifts and agreed to pay[18] interest to the temple at Tiruviḍandai. Whenever a default occurred with the *ūr* or the *sabhā*, they remitted the daily fine, always paid in cash, at this place[19]. Irregularity in supply was punished by a daily fine to the *Dhanmāsana* after producing *uṇḍigai* and *paṭṭigai* (bills of exchange). Whenever, the court of justice decided to enquire into the non-payment of dues then in addition to the daily fine, one *mañjāḍi* of gold (fixed always) was to be remitted to the king daily which was pooled back into the temple treasury[20]. As such a close watch might have been maintained by the central revenue officials over their local counterparts. In one instance, the penalty on the default of paying interest was 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *kāṇam* to the *Dhanmāsana* unlike the usual 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *kāṇam*. The centre by imposing such strict injunctions on the local assemblies totally prevented the misappropriation of temple funds, though levy was given by it to use the funds for the people. The worship within the temple was controlled and regulated by a committee called (*tiruuṇṇāḻigai - vāriyam* comprising of certain *sabhā* members). Thus, though the ūr and *sabha* actively participated in the temple affairs by accepting the responsibility of gifts and grants donted, it was still thought pertinent of close the actual temple affairs of the temple to outsides.

A standard measure of paddy calculation[21] was followed for the feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* Even in the feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* a strict vigil was maintained to prevent wastage. It is also learnt that a *Kalichchiṅgan-maḍam* also existed in the area during the time of Kulōttuṅga I to feed *Brāhmaṇas*[24].

Despite the fact that numerous grants were received from far and near, twelve fishermen families (*paṭṭiṇavaṉkuḍi*) were ordered by two offiers to pay a tax of $\frac{3}{4}$th *Kaḻañju* (from their monthly remittance) per head conducting a festival called *Rājarājadēvar tirunāḷ*[25]. They had to remit the amount either by venturing out into the sea or by weaving (nets). A monthly tax was also imposed on the fishermen. Hence, as of now certain nautical miles from the shore might have been declared as imperial waters as otherwise the king cannot levy tax.

The temple also stood as a guardian angel in time of crises of its own folk as can be attested to by the fact when the temple under moral pressure, bid at a public auction a piece of land of a temple women who was fined by a minister of the Pāṇḍyas[26]. The *nāṭṭār* and *ūrār* forced the temple to buy the required land as both did not have money. The temple bought the same by selling some gifted

jewels. This proved that liquid cash was a scarce commodity with the temple (the amount being merely 200 *paṉ*). This could be corroborated further by stating that the entire gifted finances of the temple remained only in the hands of the *ūr* and *sabhā*.

From the above it can be surmised that the whole village revolved round the temple and that the temple also bestowed its funds on the people for all-round development.

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7. KUḌIKKĀḌU IN PUDUKKŌṬṬAI INSCRIPTIONS - AN INTERPRETATION

K.R. Sankaran

Epigraphs of the erstwhile Pudukkōṭṭai state have several references to the term Kuḍikkāḍu. This has been mentioned in nearly forty inscriptions. List of the inscriptions in which the term Kuḍikkāḍu occurs is given after the tables. Generally it is found in the context of land transactions by means of assignment, donation and sale. The term Kuḍikkāḍu in inscriptions is used as a suffix attached to certain names, collective or individual. Accordingly, it can be classified into two types. The precedence of the collective nouns such as Śivabrāhmaṇar, Taṭṭāṉ and Valaiyar before the term Kuḍikkāḍu shows that those *Kuḍikkāḍu* were the service tenure holdings (Table 1). Likewise, its association with the proper nouns or titles viz., Nāḍāḷvāṉ, Araiyaṉ, Pēraiyaṉ, etc., would show that some Kuḍikkāḍu were owned individually (Table 2, 3).

In inscriptions it is introduced with a standard pharse i.e., Kuḍikkāḍu Kuḷamum.[1] It gives the impression that every Kuḍikkāḍu was located in close proximity to the water resources. As the sources do not explicitly speak of its nature, an attempt has been made in this paper to understand the real nature of Kuḍikkāḍu and its significance for the socio-economic history of the medieval times. So far, no specific study has been made by scholars in this field. Mr. Tirumlai refers to Kuḍikkāḍu as "*occupied holdings*" or "occupiable arable land". But he did not discuss this term.[2]

The epigraphs utilised for the present study give us some interesting information regarding the physical features of Kuḍikkāḍu. Kuḍikkāḍu is differently denoted in epigraphs with the names ending in Nallūr, Puṟam, Kuḷam and Maṅgalam[3]. The earliest lithic evidence speaking of Kuḍikkāḍu is available from Tiruviḷaṅkuḍi in the reign of Rājarāja I. It is said in the inscription that the *sabhā* of Vikramakēsari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam sold a Kuḍikkāḍu to the temple located in the same settlement. Before the sale, Kuḍikkāḍu was in a bad condition due to flooding. It is said that after the sale, it was named as Pāsūranaṅgainallūr. Subsequently the officials *nāḍuvagai* and *Nāḍu-kaṇkāṇināyagam* demarcated and parcelled out the Kuḍikkāḍu to some persons who in return were to render some services to the temple. Taxes to be collected from this Kuḍikkāḍu were also prescribed.[4] In another instance in 1237 A.D. the *ūr* body of Ollaiyūr *alias* Madurai sold one Kuḍikkāḍu called Madurāntakapuram inclusive of tank (*kuḷam*) and habitation site *(nattam)*. This Kuḍikkāḍu had to be sold to pay tax arrears to the tax collector Achchuperṟa-(pērāḷar)[5]. The occurrence of the pharase i.e., our Kuḍikkādu (eṅ+gaḷ Kuḍikkāḍu) shows that it was commonly owned. In the next case dated in the 15th regnal year of Virapāṇḍya the *ūr* body of Vikramapāṇḍyanallūr in Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu with the cocurrence of a *mudali* official sold their common land *(ūr-podu)*. This village otherwise known as Pāṇḍimāṉ Kuḍikkāḍu comprised tank and its adjuncts, wet land, fallow land and dry land[6].

After the rise of *pāḍikāval* authorities

the allocation of Kuḍikkāḍu became a very crucial political activity. In the year 1461 A.D. due to some feuds between the townships Tuvār and Poṉṉamarāpati, the *Ūrār* of Poṉṉamarāpati made a pact with the *Nāṭṭavar* of a neighbouring locality, seeking their help against their neighbouring village. According to this agreement the *Ūrār* of Poṉṉamarāpati agreed to assign a Kuḍikkāḍu in their *paṟṟu* as *Tirunāmattukkāṇi* (*kāṇi* in the name of God). The assigned Kuḍikkāḍu was known as Panaiyamaṅgalam. It comprised tank and its adjuncts (kuḷam with *Kuḷapparisu*), well, dry land, etc.

From the above details it is known that Kuḍikkāḍu was differently referred to as *nallūr, puṟam, kuḷam* and *maṅgalam*, in the contemporary records. It is also clear that it included agricultural lands, both wet and dry, water resources such as tank *(kuḷam)* and well *(kiṇaṟu)* and also habitation area *(nattam)*. In short, Kuḍikkāḍu was the area of a settlement with its agricultural fields.

But the question remains why the settlements in Pudukkōṭṭai area alone were called as Kuḍikkāḍu. Perhaps this area, lying, as it were, in a predominantly dry zone, comprised mostly *kāḍu* (i.e., forest) and shrub. Once they were reclaimed for cultivation and habitation they seem to have been denoted as kuḍikkāḍu in the sense of "occupied Forest".

Notes & References :

1. Nearly ten times Kuḍikkāḍu is referred to in this way.
   IPS Nos. :90 ; 281 ; 349 ; 360 ; 361 ; 383 ; 403 ; 541
   Ibid 90 : Kuḍikkāḍu - kuḷam
   Ibid 281 : Kuḍikkāḍu - kuḷamuḷḷāga
   Ibid 349 : Kuḍikkāṭṭu-k kuḷamum
   Ibid 360 : Kuḍikkāḍu - kuḷamum
   Ibid 361 : " "
   Ibid 383 : " "
   Ibid 403 : Kuḍikkāṭṭuk - kuḷamum
   Ibid 541 : Kuḍikkāḍu - kuḷamum
2. R. Tirumalai, *Studies in Ancient Township of Pudukkottai*, 1981, Madras, p.365
3. *IPS* Nos. : 90 ; 309 ; 361 ; 799
4. *Ibid* ., 90
5. *Ibid* ., 309
6. *Ibid* ., 361
7. *Ibid* ., 799

Table - 1

COMMUNAL BASED KUḌIKKĀḌU

Inscription Number	Year	Names of Kuḍikkāḍu
100	1038	Śivabrāhmaṇar-Kuḍikkāḍu
331	1250	Valaiyar - "
383	1271	Taṭṭāṉ- "

Kuḍikkādus were called after the Communities.

Table - 2

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF KUḌIKKĀḌU

Inscription Number	year	Names of the holders
231	1228	Paṭṭāṇḍi
281	1228	Kūṇaṉ
319	1238	Tāḷam Peṟār
325	1231	Aruḷ Peṟār
360	1259	Kaṇṭāṇṭi
844	1519	Vāntaruvāṉ

Kuḍikāḍus were called after the names of the owners.

TABLE - 3

KUḌIKKĀḌUS OF THE LOCALITY LEVEL LEADERS AFTER WHOM THEY WERE CALLED

Inscription Number	Year	Names of the holders
390	1237	Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉ Pēṟaiyaṉ
331	1250	Kaṅgai Nāḍāḻvāṉ
343	1263	Kaṇḍar
354	1263	Sḍiyadaraiyaṉ
361	1259	Pāṇṭimāṉ
439		Neḍuvayal Karampaiyaṉ
444		Pagaichavarkālappēraiyaṉ
441		Maṇamik Kaṇṭāṉ

List of the inscriptions in which the term Kuḍikkāḍu occurs :

IPS No

90 - nūṟṟuvēli aṟṟu pēr kūvappaḍum kuḍikkāḍu

99 - kuḍutta ūrk-kuḍikkāḍu

100 - Śivabrāhmaṇar kuḍikkāḍu

309 - eṅgaḷ kuḍikkāḍu Madurāntagapurattai viṟu

312 - nāṭṭu piḷḷai-vēḷār kuḍikkāḍu

325 - aruḷ pēṟār kuḍikkāḍu

331 - kaṅgai nāḍāḷvāṉ kuḍikkāḍu valaiyar kuḍikkāḍu

345 - asal kuḍikkāḍugaḷ

354 - sḍiyadaraiyaṉ kuḍikkāḍu

361 - pāṇḍimāṉ kuḍikkāḍu

366 - nāyanāṟku

375 - paṟṟāna

383 - taṭṭāṉ

386 - viṟa indhakuḍikkāṭṭuk kup peru nāṅgellai āvadu

403 - nāḷāḍvāṉ kuḍikkāṭṭukkuḷamum vayalum pudar kuḍikkāṭṭkukkum nañjaik kuḍikkāṭṭuk kuḷattukku malai saiya rāsaṉ kuḍikkāṭṭuk kukamum

421 - engaḷ kuḍikkāḍu sāraivayal

439 - kuḍikkāṭṭp paṟṟu kuḷam karampaiyaṉ kuḍikkāḍu'

440 - eṅgaḷ ūrsūḷnda kuḍikkāṭṭup paṟṟum maṇamik kaṇṭaṉ kuḍikkāṭṭukku

444 - maṟamāṇikkap pēraiyaṉ kuḍikkāṭṭuch chevvaikku pakaichchavar kālap pēraiyaṉ kuḍikkāṭṭuk kuḷam

541 - sēra vēḷār kuḍikkāṭṭuk kuḷamum

555 - ikkuḍikkāḍu

574 - ikkuḍikkāṭṭukku ellai āvadu

579 - inda kuḍikkāḍu

681 - māṇikkanēri matippar kuḍikkāḍu

715 - inda ūrgaḷil kuḍikkāḍu uṭpaḍa

741 - peru nāṅgellaikku viṭṭa kuḍikkāḍu

817 - rāsanērik kuḍikkāḍu

844 - varaṉtaruvāṉ kuḍikkāḍu

903 - ikkuḍikkāḍu

8. CHŌḶA INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAṄGANĀTHA ROCK-CUT CAVE TEMPLE, NĀMAKKAL

L.K. Srinivasan

In the year 1979 - 80 the southern circle of Archaeological Survey of India, Madras, undertook some conservation works in the Raṅganāthasvāmy rock-cut cave temple at Nāmakkal which among other repairs included removal of certain accretionary features in the form of masonry steps and basement which concealed the original rock-cut approach flight of steps to the cave.[1] The original steps with balustrade on either side cut into the mother rock was found to be engraved with two Tamil inscriptions, on the outer face of each balustrade. Besides these two inscriptions, a third inscription was also brought to light on the wall of the cave temple. These three inscriptions form the subject of our study in this paper.

These three Tamil inscriptions belong to the reign period of Chōḷa king Rāja Rāja and are on palaeographic grounds assignable to 13th century A.D. All the inscriptions are dated in one and the same year viz., 21st regnal year of Rājarāja III. The Christian equivalent of the 21st regnal year of Rājarāja III corresponds to 1237 AD.

The inscription engraved on the left balustrade records the grant of one *mā* of wet land below the tank and to the north of the sluice in the village Vēṭṭampāḍi as *Tirumaḍaipaḷḷippuram* to the deities *Vēdanāyaga Perumāḷ* and *Śiṅga Perumāḷ* by Kuṭṭi Ūrāḷi piḷḷai Aran Iruṅgōḷaṉ, a *Veṭṭuvan* of *Āṟṟūr Mēlśēri* situated towards north of Kiḷakarai-Nāḍu. It also mentions 512 *Kuḷis* of land to the north of the sluice measured by sixteen feet span measure.

The inscription on the right balustrade registers the order of the *Sabhai* granting $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of cultivable land below the tank of Īśāna Mānā Māpuram as *Tirumaḍaipaḷḷipuṟam* for the deties *Vēdanāyaga Perumāḷ* and *Śiṅgaperumāḷ*, for the merit of Dēśi Āḷappiṟandāṉ *alias* Mummuḍi Chōḷa Chakravarti, the younger brother of Vēṭṭuvaṉ Narkāvēri Nāḍāḷvaṉ alias Naraśiniga Dēvaṉ belonging to the Pullai veṭṭuvāṉ community, when he was in the hill of *Tiruvāraikkal.* The lands thus given were measured by 40 ×30 *Kōl* for each *taḍi.* The name of the chief is Aṅgarāyar who had the title *Mummaḍichōḷa Chakravarti* and who is referred to as the brother of Naraśiṅgadēvar. The record was caused to be engraved on the hill Tiruvāraikkal.

The third inscription engraved on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* records the grant of a *mā* and *kāṇi* of land from the village Śēndamaṅgalam after making it tax-free (*iṟaiyili*) as *Tirumaḍaipaḷḷipuṟam* to the deities Vēdanāyaga Perumāḷ and Śiṅga Perumāḷ at Tiruvāraikkal by Vēṭṭuvaṉ Kōmaṉ Iruṅgōḷaṉ Kariyapperumāḷ *alias* Valaṅgai Kōmāṉ of Virālimalai in Arai-Nāḍu on the western side. The measure used to assess the land is given as 16 ft span. Out of the above lands gifted 120 *kuḷis* were endowed by Aṅgarāyan.

All the three inscriptions under study refer to *Vēṭṭuvar* community. In one of the inscriptions a chief named Aṅgarāyaṉ figures as the brother of Narasiṅga Dēvaṉ. This Aṅgarāyaṉ

had the titles *Dēśi Aḷapiraṇḍān* and *Mummuḍi chōḷachakravarti.* His elder brother Naraśiṅga Dēvaṉ had assumed the titles *Naṟkāvēri Nāḍālvāṉ* and *Valaṅgai Áḷapiraṇḍāṉ.*

It is well known that *Valaṅgai* is one of the sects which is represented in a number of Chōḷa inscriptions. The chief Aṅgarāyaṉ belonging to the *Pullai Vēṭṭuvar* community also figures in a record of 30th year of Rājarāja III.[3] In this record he is stated to have consecrated the image of Vēdanāyaga Perumāḷ and endowed some lands for worship of the deity.

Another chief who belongs to the *Vēṭṭuvaṉ* community is one Kuṭṭi Ūrāḷi Piḷḷai Araṉ Iruṅgōḷaṉ. He is referred to as a resident of Āṟṟūr Mēmśēri. The third chief who represents this community is one Kōmān Iruṅgōḷaṉ Kariyapperumāḷ *alias* Valaṅgai Kōmāṉ. This chief hails from Vīrāḷimalai in Ārai-Nāḍu.

In all the three inscriptions the land gifts were made as *Tirumaḍaippaḷḷippuṟam* to the temples of Vēdanāyaga Perumāḷ and Śiṅga Perumāḷ. *Tirumaḍaipaḷḷipuṟam* is a special service that is very commonly referred to in a number of Chōḷa inscriptions. We hear of the gifts of land endowed as *Tirumaḍaippaḷḷippuṟam* i.e., maintenance of the temple kitchen. In one of the inscriptions in this temple, a certain Tribhuvana Chakravarti is stated to have endowed land for a similar purpose. It also gives names of the beneficiaries of the gift.

From among the places mentioned in these inscriptions Vēṭṭampāḍi and Śēndamaṅgalam can be identified respectively with their namesake in Namakkal Taluk. The place Vīrāḷimalai is the same as its +namesake located on Trichy - Pudukōṭṭai road.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

1. Inscription on right side balustrade of or approach flight of steps leading to rock-cut cave.

1 Svasti śrī Tiru(thi) bu (bhu) vaṉa [Chakravarttigaḷ]

2 Irājarājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 21 vadu Ā

3 [ya]ṉaṭṭukkup - pillai Vēṭṭivaṉ Naṟ Kāvēri nāḍāḷ -

4 vāṉ valaṅgai Āḷappiṟandāṉ āṉa Naraśiṅga Dēvaṉ - in ta -

5 mbi Dēśi Āḷappirandānāṉa Mummḍi ḍiśōḷach - chakkravattiyam

6 Tiruvāraikkal tirumaliyilē tīrtthamāḍi irrkkach-chi

7 [di]1 sabhai uṅgaḷukku naṉṟaga uṅga[ḷil]

8 Vēdanāyagap-perumāḷukkuṅ (kkum) Śiṅgappe-rumā[ḷukku]

9 tirumaḍaippaḷḷip-puṟam āgach - chiridu nilam - iḍavēṇum - e [ṉṟu]

10 nāṭ[ṭu] Sabhai aruḷachchayya eṅgaḷ Paṟṟil Iśānamā[n]a

11 [mā] puratil Kuḷakkīḷ nīr nilattu irumā-araich-chey kiṇa[ṟu]

12 śūḷuda nāṉku-ellaiyil oru taḍiy=āga nāṟpadiṉ kō -

13 lukku muppattiru- kōl nilam tiruvāḷikkal Naṭṭit=Tiru -

14 vāraikkal tirumalaiyilē kal veṭṭik= kuḍuttōm

15 Naraśiṅgadēvarum tambi Aṅgarā yaram i- dharmma[m] chandrādit -

16 tavarai i- dharmmaṁ kāttāṉ [śrīpādam *] eṅgaḷ talaimēlē irakkuvā -

17 ṉ vaḻi ēḻachcham - oḻiyāmal aṟuvāṉ.

2. Inscription on the left balustrade of approach flight of steps leading to rock-cut caves

1 [Svasti] śrī Ti[ribu]vaṉach-chakkaravattigaḷ Irā-

2 jarājadē[vaṟkku yā]ṇḍu 21vadu kiḻkarai

3 nāṭṭu vaḍa[karai *] Aṟṟūr Mélśēri Muḻai Vē -

4 ṭṭuvaṉ [kuṭṭi] ūrāḷipiḷḷai Āran Irun gō -

5 [ḷaneṉ *] Vēdanāyagap - Perumāḷukkuṁ (kkum) Śiṅga -

6 [pperu]māḷakkūm eṉṉūr Vēṭṭampā

7 [di] ..kuḷakkiḻ nīr nilattil tirumaḍaip -

8 [paḷ]ḷi - puram -āga viṭṭa nilam oru mā iṉ -

9 [nila] m-oru māvum paḷḷattūmbukku vaḍakku pa -

10 diṉṉāṟu kālukku muppattiru - kōlāl kuḻi a -

11 nnūṟṟ - orubat - iraṇḍukkum tiruvāḻikkal -

12 nāṭṭik - kalaveṭṭik - kuḍuttēn Kuṭṭi

- ū -

13 [rā] ḷi Iruṅgōḷaṉ - en - i - dharm-mam kāttā -

14 ṉ- aḍi eṉ talaimēlē iṟakkuvān vaḻi ēḻachcha -

15 m- oḻiyāmal - aṟuvāṉ.

3. Inscription on the wall of the rock-cut cave

1 Svasti śrī Tiribu(Tribhu)vanach-chakka-

2 ravattigaḷ Irāsarāsa (Irājarāja) dēva-

3 ṟkku yāṇḍu 21 Mēl-

4 karai Arai-nāṭṭu Ivvūr

5 Virāḷimalaiy Vēṭṭuvaṉ-

6 Komān Iruṅgōḷaṉ Ka-

7 riyaperumāḷ-āṉa Valaṅgai

8 Komāṉe [ṉ] Tiruvāraikal Vēdan-

9 āyaga-perumāḷukku Śi[n]ga (Śiṅga)-perumāḷu-

10 kkum eṉṉūṟ Śēndumaṅgalattu Va-

11 ḍakkil kuḷattil kaḷaṉiyil kiḻkarai

12 tirumaḍaipaḷḷi-puṟam āga pa[di] [ṉ] ṉa[ṟu]

13 kālukku 32 kōlā

14 ḷa 2 nila orumāvu Aṅgarā[ya *]-

15 n-aruḷaviṭṭa Vēdanāyaga-

16 .. viṭṭa kuḻi nūṉṟu[yi]rubat(u)

17 eṭṭu nāl nilaṅ=kāṇiyum

18 āga nila mā kāṇiyum i[ṟai]

19 yili āga chandirādittavarai-

20 yum tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-

21 āga viṭṭēn idu iraṅ-

22 gāmal - kāppān śī(Śri) pādam

23 e[ṅ] talai mēl koṇ-

24. ḍēṉ [*tam*] iṟakkiṉava[ṉ]-ē-

25. ḷ= echcham-aṟuvān

Notes & References :

1) Briefly reported in Indian Archaeology - A Review 1980-81, pp. 144

2) May also be read as śānamānavīrapuram.

3) SII., Vol.XXII, Part I, No. 9.

9. ŚIVAPURAM - A CHŌḶA TOWNSHIP

P.D. Balaji

Śivapuram in śriperumbudur taluk of Chengai-MGR district in Tamilnadu is a small village located 10 miles away from Tiruvellore on Tiruvellore - Tiruttani road. Though pre-Chōḷa history of the place is not known, in the Pallava period the adjoining villages viz., Iḷambayaṅkōṭṭūr and Kūvam were visited by the Śaiva saints Tirujñāna Sambandar, who composed hymns in praise of Śiva presiding there. In the Chōḷa period Śivapuram became an important centre of socio-economic activities in this area. This is very well attested by the presence of lithic records dated since 1009 A.D. (Rājarāja I) inscribed in a temple dedicated to Śiva.

Altogether 21 inscriptions assignable to Rājarāja I (1), Rājēndra I (17), Rājādhirāja (1) and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (92) are found in this temple. Except one[1], the rest of the epigraphs are unpublished. During the course of my doctoral research, I had the opportunity to consult and collect the data on these lithic records at the Chief Epigraphist Office, ASI at Mysore.

The earliest epigraph (1009 A.D.) mentions this place as Ūrōgaḍam[2] in the administrative division of Purisai nāḍu of Maṇavir-koṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍa chōḷa-maṇḍalam. It is only after 1020 A.D., the present name Śivapuram appears in the inscription[3]. Even today, the village abutting Śivapuram is called as Ūrōgaḍam. Probably the present Śivapuram in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. ought to have been a part and parcel of Ūrōgaḍam. That is why the epigraph dated in 1009 A.D[4] mentions this place as Ūrōgaḍam. Perhaps the dedication of a Śiva temple at this place might have influenced in naming the place as Śivapuram(i.e., the abode of Śiva). In some lithic records the place is also mentioned as Rājarājēśvaram.[5]

TEMPLE : The temple has a plan of east facing square sanctum, *antarāḷa*, *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*. Above the sanctum there is a beautiful *ēkataḷa* domical *Vimāna*, all built of stone. On the *Vimāna*, Śiva(east) Vishṇu(west), Brahma(north) and Dakshiṇāmūrti (south) are depicted. On the four cordinal points of the *vimānataḷa*, four squatted nandis are carved out. The presiding deity Liṅga is called as Mahādēva Ādidāsachaṇḍēśvar *alias* Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār. The niches in the *adhishṭhāna* are occupied by Gaṇēśa and Dakshiṇāmurti on the south, Liṅgōdbhava on the west and Brahma and Durga on the north. All these sculptures could be dated contemporaneous with the main shrine.

The presence of pilasters having cut corbel with triangular tenon like projection on the *adhishṭhāna* wall and the depiction of a row of *gaṇas* on the *uttiram* very well endorse the date of the temple to the early Chōḷa period. Since the earliest record is dated to 1009 A.D., the temple should have been built prior to 1009 A.D, possibly in the reign of Rājarāja I. That is why the place and the presiding deity in the temple were named respectively after the builder of the edifice as Rājarājēśvaram and Rājarājēśvaram-uḍaiyār. Hence, it could be presumed

that the township had attained prominence during reign of Rājarāja I.

INSCRIPTIONS :

The aforesaid earliest inscription of 1009 A.D.[6], besides mentioning the previous grants made to the temple, thereby implying the existence of temple prior to 1009 A.D., also registers a sale of land as *dēvadāna iṟaiyili* by the *ūravar* of Ūrōgaḍam in favour of the temple and the remissioning of water tax on the donated land. This implies the scarcity of water in this area.

Consequently to get rid of the water scarcity, the very next inscription[7] unfolds the measures taken out by the township in 1019 AD. Accordingly Pudūr *ēri* (lake) at śivapuram was connected by a channel with the river Pālāru flowing adjacent to the adjoining village Kūvam also known as Tyagasamudranallūr in order to get an incesant water flow. For this purpose, the land meant for digging the channel within the boundary of the village Kūvam was gifted to Śivapuram by the *Ūravar* of Kūvam as a gesture for social cause. This reflects that the water management reached an advanced stage nearly 1000 years back.

Oil pressing industry was quite prevalent and it was professed by a set called Saṅkarapāḍiyārs[8] who instituted perpetual lamps in the Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār temple. Similar mercantile developments coupled with royal patronage to a smaller extent promoted Śivapuram and it is referred as *dēvadāna nagaram* of Rājarājēśvaram-uḍaiyār for the first time in an epigraph of Rājarāja I dated 1025 A.D[9].

It is pertinent to mention here that references to *dēvadāna nagarams* do not often occur in the lithic records. On the score, Śivapuram assumes greater importance as a *dēvandāna nagaram.*

Inscriptions disclose circulation of numerous types of coins namely *kaḻañju, mañjāḍi, poṉ, kāśu, tuḻainiṟaikāsu* and *Rājarājan kāśu.* The temple which was managed by the *tiruvuṇṇāḻigai sabhai, śivathaṇḍāris* and *dēvakanmis* under the overall supervision of the village assembly, too received many donations in the form of gold, cash and kind. Since, Rājarāja I was the author of the temple, his son Rājēndra I also donated different varieties of gold ornaments weighing nearly 1000 *kaḻañjus* as furnished *infra*[10] to the gods and goddesses in the temple in his 6th (1018 A.D) and 7th (1019 A.D) regnal years[11]. Likewise, in 1033 A.D[12] a person donated 25 *kaḻañju* of gold to feed five brāhmaṇas, for chanting vēdas in the temple, three times a day. Similarly in 1038 A.D[13] ten Rājarājaṉ *kāśus* were donated for feeding one *Śivayōgi* on the occasion of making offerings to the god every day. All these reflect the place Śivapuram as an important religious and commercial centre which drew the attention of large pilgrims including the members of royal family.

The overall administrative control over the township was with the *mānagarattār.* It once sold out the ownership *(kāṇi)* rights over a *nagara-kaṇakku-kāṇi* to Āyira bhaṭṭan, the *karaṇattān* of Śivapuram-nagaram in 1025 A.D.[14] Being a temple enjoying royal patronage, it had in its treasury, surplus money. It was suitably invested with the other village assemblies which were in need of financial assistance. Records show, that in 1038 A.D six village assemblies received money on loan

from the Śivapuram temple on annual interest basis. (i.e., *padakku* of paddy on *kāśu* per annum and 10 *padakku* of paddy on *kaḷañju* of *tuḷainiṟai poṉ* per annum).

Those were: Mahāsabhā of Siṅgaḷāntaka chaturvēdimaṅgalam - 100 *kaḷañju* of gold[15] Mahāsabhā of Kōṭṭur alias Chōḷavichchādiva maṅgalam - 40 *kaḷañju* of *tuḷainiṟaipoṉ*[16],

Sabhā of Maduramaṅgalam - 100 *kaḷañju* of *tuḷainiraipoṉ*[17], Mahāsabhā of Śivankūḍal - 400 *kāśu*[18], Mahāsabhā of Perumbūdūr - 500 *kāśu*[19], Ūravar of Nīrvēḷūr - 20 *kaḷañju* of *poṉ*[20]

Such a temple having vast financial resources at its disposal had a good number of temple functionaries. On the basis of the data furnished in an epigraph dated 1045 AD[21] its strength was around 63 and each of them was given *padakku* paddy every week as remuneration. All these testify Śivapuram as a hub of all socio-economic activities in this micro region in the first half of the 11th century A.D.

Soon after Rājādhirāja I, the township began to loose its patronage as no records of the Chōḷas are found after 1045 A.D. Those found[22] anterior to Chōḷa period are that of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, which are undated. As a result of this, Śivapuram lost all its pomp and glory and now relegated to the status of an obscure hamlet. The temple that once possessed more than 1000 *kaḷañjus* of gold and cherished under the Chōḷa patronage stands now devoid of any worship.

Notes and References

1. A.R.Ep., 1896, No. 18
2. Ibid., 1960, No. 288
3. Ibid., 1960, No. 283
4. Ibid., 1960, No. 288
5. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 234
6. Ibid., 1959-60, No. 288
7. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 233
8. Ibid., 1959-60, No. 283, 284
9. Ibid., 1959-60, 284, 285
10. Ibid., pp 5 and 6
11. Ibid., 1959-60, No. 287
12. Ibid., 1959-60, No. 280
13. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 226
14. Ibid., 1959-60, No. 285
15. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 227
16. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 228
17. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 229
18. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 230
19. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 231
20. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 232
21. Ibid., 1961-62, No. 234
22. Ibid., 1959-60, No. 289 and 290

10. ON THE PROBLEM OF THE VAIŚYA - AGRAHĀRA

Subrata Kumar Acharya

In the whole range of Indian epigraphy, the Chicacole copper plate grant of Madhukāmārṇava[1] is the only record where we come across the term *Vaiśya - agrahāra*. It has now been believed that the *agrahāra* was created in favour of the Vaiśyas and thus it is a 'typical service grant'. There is no denying that numerous land grants were made to secular assignees in different parts of India in ancient and medieval times. But nowhere the term *agrahāra* which is ordinarily used in the sense of rent-free holdings in favour of brāhmaṇas is misused for non-brāhmaṇa beneficiaries. This peculiar problem of the record led me to re-examine the original facsimile published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, VIII, Parts 2 & 3, 1933 - 34, pp. 180 - 82ff. Unfortunately the published transcripts of the record are full of mistakes and its correct interpretation is yet to be made. In the following discussion, I have made an attempt to re-examine the purport of the grant and to resolve the misconceptions which have long created an enigma among scholars.

The copper plate grant was issued during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga ruler *mahārājādhirāja* Madhukāmārṇava, the son of Śrī Anantavarmadēva in the year 526 of the prosperous and victorious Gaṅga era *(Gaṅga-vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara aṅkenāpi 526-l.33)*, the christian equivalent of which is 1024 A.D. The charter refers to one Lakshmaṇarāmadēva who was a subordinate chief ruling from Chikhali- pāṭanapura in Chikhali. The object of the plates is stated in lines 12-16 which run as under :

1.12........Śrī lakshmaṇarāmadēva[2] Paḍuṇi grāme

1.13 yasa Dantapura-vāstavya Vaiśyakula vaṁśa Śrī Mañcha-nāyaka ta -

1.14 sya sūnu[3] parama-māhēśvara-mātāpitṛ pādānudhyāta Erapa-nāyaka -

1.15 sya Paḍu[4] - grāma Hoṇḍaravanto Morakhiṇo traya gra[5] sameta Vaiśya a-

1.16 grahāra kṛitva[6] sa-pradatam-iti[7]...........

C. Narayan Rao and R. Subba Rao translated the above passage in the following manner : ".......the glorious Lakshmaṇa Rāmadēva, having made into a *Vaiśyāgrahāra* (gift of village to Vaiśy-as or traders) the three villages of Paḍugrāma, Hōṇḍaravaḍo and Mōrakhiṇo granted the same to the illustrious Erapa-nāyaka who was the devout worshipper of the feet of his parents and of god Mahēśvara and who was the son of the illustrious Mañchi nāyaka who belonged to the family of Vaiśyas or traders and was originally a native of Paḍugrāma but who was then residing at Dantapura."[8]

Basing on this translation, R.S. Sharma suggested that the three villages together formed into a *Vaiśy-agrahāra* and granted to a certain Erapa-nāyaka, the son of Mañchi-nāyaka of the Vaiśya caste.[9] The *nāyaka* suffix to the name of the donee also led him to conclude that the *Vaiśy-agrahāra* was created in favour of Erapa-nāyaka for his military service.[10]

The passage quoted above is suggestive of the fact that Erapa-nāyaka could either be a military functionary (because of the *nāyaka* suffix) or a trader (because of the caste profession), but the titles evidently spell out his generous and

religious bent of mind. Originally he was a native of Paḍuṇi-grāma but at the time of the execution of the grant he was residing at Dantapura. Moreover, the *bibhakti* rule in *Erapa-nāyakasya* in lines 14-15 conveys the meaning that Paḍuṇi-grāma belonged to him. The three village, Paḍuṇi-grāma along with Hoṇḍaravanto and Morakhiṇo, were combined into one (Vaiśya ?) *agrahāra* with its boundaries fixed on all sides and then granted free of all taxes and hinderances from government officers. The prefixing of *Vaiśya* to *agrahāra* here is quite unintelligible. The word *agrahāra* is generally applied to rent-free holdings created in favour of the religious beneficiaries such as the brāhamaṇas and the term is obviously used in the sense of running an educational foundation in a village or villages. In the same way, a rent-free holding in the possession of a deity is called as a *dēv-āgrahāra*. Land grants to the secular assignees are never termed as *agrahāras*. It appears to mind that the word *Vaiśya* preceeding *agrahāra* in lines 15-16 is a personification of Erapa-nāyaka and the intended reading should be *sa-Vaiśyaḥ-agrahāraṁ -kṛitvā-sampradattam-iti*, meaning thereby that the particular Vaiśya (Erapa-nāyaka) after creating the rent-free holding granted the same. This emendation further makes us believe that Erapa-nāyaka was not the donee but the donor of the grant. This would be clear from the second half of line 32 which states that 150 *rūpyas* or silver pieces were paid *(dātta-deḍha- śata-rupya 150)*.[11] *Deḍha* is a Prakrit word that means one and a half. But the use of the word *dātta* here is significant. The editors of the copper plate grant are of the opinion, "Probably, the sum was paid to the donee as *dakshiṇā* or cash which should usually accompany any gift in kind."[12] S.N. Rajaguru has corrected it for *dēyaṁ* and believed that it was the annual rent fixed as payable to the king. He further observed that since the donee was not a brāhmaṇa, he was not eligible to any *dānaṁ*, which includes *dakshiṇā*, and that since the grant was made to a Vaiśya by caste, it was not freed from cessment.[13] But the expression *sarva-paiḍā-vādhā-vivarjitaḥ* in line 17 evidently points to the creation of a rent-free holding. D.C. Sircar corrected the passage in the following manner: *dātu(ḥ*) deḍha (dvyardha)-śata-ru(rū)pya(pyāṇi) 150.*[15] He further suggested that 150 silver coins were paid by the donee to the donor and as such the charter recorded what actually a *kraya-śāsana* or a sale deed.[15] He too believed that Erapa-nāyaka was the real donee who paid the price to the donor. In fact, as has been suggested above, Erapa-nāyaka was not the donee but the donor. Perhaps it was he who after purchasing the land at the cost of 150 silver coins made a free-holding or *agrahāra*. *Dātta* should, therfore, be emended for *dātuḥ* or *datta* (already given or paid) and not for *deyaṁ* (should pay). Besides, 150 silver coins is too big an amount to be demanded by the king from an *agrahāra* village. From the numerous *kara-śāsanas* of India we gather the information that the annual rent demanded from the beneficiaries of *agrahāra* villages was usually fixed at a nominal rate. The amounts mentioned in some records in this connection are 200 *paṇas*[16] (probably of cowries), between 2[17] and 9[18] *palas* of silver, etc. This was apparently much less than the usual annual rent for a village.

In the records of the early medieval period often we across the land grants made by the persons of non-Brahmanic communities to the learned brāhmaṇas,

the temple authorities or some charitable organisations for obtaining religious merits.[19] Since such a meritorious act involved purchase of land or giving away a part of one's own land, ordinary men had no capacity to afford for these activities. Only vassals, chieftains, landlords and wealthy merchants or mercantile communities were sometimes engaged in such activities. In this connection attention may be drawn to a few contemporary charters of Orissa.

The Sonepur plates of the Sōmavaṁśī king Janamējaya I[20] record the donation of a tax-free village to a merchant's association known as *Kamalavana Vaṇika Sthāna.* It is very difficult to explain why the king registered a tax-free village in favour of a profit-making organisation such as a mercantile guild. But the real intention of the grant is found in lines 22-25 where it has been explicitly made clear that the said merchants' association, after getting possession of the village bestowed the same on the temples of the lord Kēśava and the lord Āditya. It appears that the merchants' association at first purchased the village and then endowed it to the temples.

The Orissa Museum plates of *Mahārāja* Neṭṭabhañja[21] supply the information that the king granted a portion of a village, with its four boundaries fixed, to *vaṇija* Aichadataka. The purpose for which the grant was made to a *vaṇija* or a merchant is not stated. P.R. Srinivasan, the editor of the plates is of the view, "As a grant to a *vaṇija* is quite unusual, this grant may have some relationship with the grant of the postscript."[22] In the postscript of the grant (lines 37-42), it has been mentioned that ten *pāṭakas* of land along with the land previously granted in the same village were granted to (the residents) of the self-same Brahmapura *(ēshām=ēva Brahmapurāṇām)* on the occasion of the *Purushottama-chakra-pratishṭhā*, i.e., at the time of the installation of *chakra* on the temple of god Purushōttama or the consecretion of the temple. Srinivasan has rightly pointed out that Brahmapura mentioned in the postscript is obviously the brāhmaṇa quarter of the grant village but erred while he believed that the land was granted by the king, and that was probably constituted the fees to the consecration. Since there is some relationship between the main grant and the postscript, it seems to be more probable that Aichadata after receiving a portion of the village from the king, granted the same to the brāhmaṇas of the village on the occasion of the consecration of the temple. The real implication is probably for the maintenance of the temple and the brāhmaṇas associated with it.

In both the grants referred to above there is no mention of *agrahāra* or *devāgrahāra* even though they were granted to the temple authorities by the merchants or mercantile guilds. In the Sinepur plates there is only the reference to *devakulābhyām-śāsanikṛitya-pradattaḥ* in lines 24-25 while the Orissa Museum plates is conspicuously silent about this. But the purport of both the grants preclude the possibility that they were no tax-paying assignments.

The Chikkalavalasa plates of Vajrahasta III[23] belonging to Śaka 982 (1060 A.D.) registers the gift of a village to a Vaiśya named Mallaya-śrēshṭhi. D.C. Sircar, the editor of the grant, remarked that the donee obtained the village from the king probably by purchase.

After having obtained the village, the Vaiśya Mallaya-śrēshṭhi kept a part of the village for himself and gave away the rest as an *agrahāra* to three hundred brāhmaṇas. This is made clear by the concluding part of the record in lines 49-56. Earlier it was believed that the object of the record was signifying the grant of an *agrahāra* village to Mallaya-śreshṭhi, a member of the Vaiśya community,[24] but later on it was observed that the epigraph did not suggest the creation of a *Vaiśya-agrahāra.* [25]

The instances quoted above are not many but they obviously point to an altogether different category of land grants to the members of the Vaiśya community or to the mercantile guilds who were obtaining the free holdings not for their own enjoyment but in their own turn creating free holdings, of course, with the permission of the king, for the temples and the brāhmaṇas. The Chicacole plates of the time of Madhukāmārṇava is such a grant where the Vaiśya Erapanāyaka purchased the villages at the cost of 150 silver coins and gifted away the same to some beneficiary. Now the question arises, who was the real donee of the grant ? In this connection attention may be drawn to line 28 of the record which contains the passage: *satrasya-bhūmi-muraya-śata-dvaya 200.* This indicates that 200 *murayas*[26] of land was set apart for a charitable institution. Similarly, in line 34 it is stated that 40 *murayas* of land was given to the writer of the inscription (*lēkhakasya-bhūmi-muraya 40*).

The word *satra (sattra)* in line 28 deserves special attention. It means 'a charitable feeding house' or an alms-house and sometimes used to indicate one of the five *mahājañas*, usuallly called *atithi.* In the early copper plate grants *sattra* is often associated with *adhiṣhthāna* (temple), *maṭha* (a temple endowed with a monastery or college) and *vihāra* (monastery). In the land endowments to these religious bodies there is specific reference to *sattra* in conjunction with *bali-charu*[27] or *bali-charu-naivēdya.*[28] The apparent object of such donations was to meet the cost of the oblations such as *bali, charu* and *naivedya* as well as *sattra* from the revenue of the donation land or village. In the Bhaumakara copper plate grants of the ninth century, *sattra* is usually associated with *kaupina-uttari-bhaishajya*[29]. The real intention was to provide garments and medicine to the mendicants, and food and clothing to the brāhmaṇa ascetics. What is of real significance is the endowment solely to a *sattra* or a charitable institution for its maintenance as has been given in the purport of the Baloda plates of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Tivaradēva.[30] It is stated in the grant that the king at the request of his son-in-law Nannarāja granted a village exempted from all taxes to a *sattra* established at Bilvapadraka in order to feed daily thirty brāhmaṇas or other men who happened to arrive and use the alms-house.[31] Although the grant was only made to the *sattra*, the reference to *adhishthāna* in line 27 apparently suggests its attachment to a temple.

On the analogy of the Baloda plates it can be said that the Vaiśya Erapanāyaka of the grant under discussion, after getting possession of the three villages set apart 200 *murayas* of land for the maintenance of an alms-house in order to feed the brāhmaṇa ascetics and other mendicants who were arriving and taking rest there. It is possible that the alms-house was also providing garments and medicines to the inmates. The non-

mention of an *adhishthāna* is justified in view of its reference to only *agrahāra* in lines 15-16. Moreover, although there is no explicit mention of the donation to the brāhmaṇas, the term *agrahāra* definitely suggests that the said alms-house was located in a brāhmaṇa quarter. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that the rent-free holding was created not in favour of a member of the Vaiśya community, as has been supposed by scholars, but in favour of an alms-house. This act of piety no doubt involved the intention to gain religious merit for the donor, for his parents and relatives, and if the old convention is to be believed then the king was also getting a share of it.

To conclude, the grant under discussion can never be considered as a 'typical service grant'. The reference to *Vaiśya-agrahāra* should be correctly resolved and emended for *sa-Vaiśyaḥ-agrahāraṁ- kṛitvā-sampradattam-iti*, thereby conveying the sense that the Vaiśya Erapa-nāyaka had created an *agrahāra* and granted it. The *agrahāra* was created in favour of a *sattra* or an alms-house possibly in a brāhmaṇa quarter. The grant further suggests that it was not a rent-paying holding but a rent-free holding. It is also evident that before registering the deed in favour of an alms-house, the Vaiśya Erapa-nāyaka had purchased the three villages at the cost of 150 silver coins. Hence, it cannot be called as a pure sale deed, rather it can come under a different category of land grants known as 'gift after purchase' of which we have a number of examples in ancient and medieval India. This seems to be the most convincing interpretation of the purport of the Chicacole copper-plate grant of Madhukāmārṇava.

Notes and References :

1. G. Ramdas for the first time edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XVIII, pp. 272-95. C.Narayan Rao and R. Subba Rao re-edited it in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, VIII, pp. 168-70 and 180-82ff.
2. Read *Lakshmaṇarē āmadeva*.
3. Read *sūnuḥ*.
4. Read *Paḍuṇi*.
5. Read *grāma*.
6. Read *agrahāraṁ kṛitvā*.
7. Read *saṁpradattam-iti*.
8. *J.A.H.R.S.*, VIII, p.169.
9. *Indian Feudalism*, Delhi, 1985 Reprint, p. 134.
10. *Ibid.*, p.231.
11. *J.A.H.R.S.*, VIII, p.182.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

13. *Inscriptions of Orissa (c. 600-1100 A.D.)*, II, Bhubaneswar, 1960, p. 177n.

14. *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1974, p.67.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *E.I.*, XXX, pp.114-15.

17. N.N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, I, Calcutta, 1912, p.160.

18. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, V, 1909, pp.348ff.

19. "According to an old convention, $\frac{5}{6}$ of the religious merit accruing to the pious act of donation in such cases would go to the purchaser of the land, i.e., the real donor of the grant, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of it to the king whose government alone could really create a rent-free holding". D.C.Sircar,*op. cit.*, p.3.

20. *E.I.*, XXIII, pp. 248-55ff.

21. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pp. 263-68ff.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

23. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp.141-46ff.

24. *A.R.Ep.*, 1924-25, p.78.

25. *E.I.* XXXIII, p. 142n.

26. The word *muraya* is used for measurement of land as well as yield (grain) from it. Here, it is used as *bhūmi-muraya* or land measurement. The *murā* (*E.I.*, XXXIII, p.143) and *muraja (Orissa Historical Research Journal*, VII, No. 2, p.84) found in other inscriptions also suggest the same meaning. However, nothing definite is known about the extent of land indicated by this term.

27. *E.I.*, XXVIII, p.329; XXIII, p.62; XXV, p. 195.

28. *Ibid.*, XI, p.193; XXVII, p.324.

29. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, Pt.1, p.78; *E.I., XXIX*, p.218.

30. *E.I.*, VII, pp.102-07ff.

31. *Ibid.*, p.104.

11. TWO EASTERN CHĀḶUKYAN CHARTERS FROM PEDDĀPURAPPĀḌU

C.A. Padmanabha Sastry

A decade ago (1983), Dr. J. Durgaprasad, Lecturer in History, U.S.R. College, Rāmachandrāpuram, East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh discovered three sets of copper plates and a single plate of this dynasty and published one set in the Telugu journal Bhārati[1], under the title *śrī Vishamasiddhi Peddāpurappāḍu Tāmra Śāsanamu.* The genuineness of this charter, particularly the seal, was questioned by Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry of Hyderabad in the subsequent issue of the same journal in Telugu and followed by an English translation in the Dr. G.S. Gai Felicitation Volume[2]. The left out two sets were copied by me at the Andhra Pradesh Sāhitya Parishat Museum, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Kākināḍa where these two sets are deposited. Since these two charters are not only issued by successive rulers but connects the religious preachers of the period in question, a general study has been attempted by me with the permission of Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The first charter is attributed to the King Vishṇuvarddhana II and issued in the first regnal year of the king and furnishes the line of genelogy such as [Kubja] Vishṇuvarddhana I, Jayasiṁha, his son Indrabhaṭṭāraka and Śrī Vishṇuvarddhana Praḷāyāditya. It registers the gifts of the village Pattipāka situated in Pōtupa vishaya to the Jaina pontiff Kanaka nadyāchārya, probably for the maintenance of *bali, vaiśva and navakarmma-sāraṇas* in the Jain temple constructed by the king for the merit of himself.

Five charters of this King (Vishṇu varddhana II) are so far known to us. They are Kōṇeki grant (issued in the 30th regnal year of Jayavarman I i.e., 669 A.D.)[3]; The Rēyūru grant (2nd year)[4]; the first set of Panṭimūku grant (3rd year)[5]; the Pallivāḍa grant (5th year)[6], the second set of Panṭimūku[7] and the published Peddāpurappāḍu grant[8] (both are undated). Hence, the present charter is the first charter issued by him.

While editing the Kōṇeki grant Sri H.K. Narasimhaswamy[9] states that the 'Kōnēki grant issued when he (Vishṇuvarddhana II) was associated with Jayasiṁha I, probably at the end of Jayasiṁha's career i.e. 669 A.D. which is equivalent to the 30th regnal year of Jayasiṁha. Majority of the Eastern Chāḷukyan grants assign 33 years rule to Jayasimha I. In such case he must have ruled till 672 A.D. and the 672 A.D. can be considered as the beginning year of Vishṇuvarddhana's rule and he issued present charter with full royal titles which is significant.

The term *nava karmma sāraṇa* mentioned in the present charter is significant to the history of Jainism. It is a well known fact Koṇḍakundāchāryya of *mūla-saṅgha* is said to have written eighty four *pāhuḍas* in Prakṛit and nine *sāras*[10].

They are 1) Samaya-sāra, 2) Pravachana-sāra 3) Pañchāsti-sāra, 4) Niyama-sāra 5) Rāyana-sāra 6) Ashṭha pāhuḍa 7) Baras-ānuvēka 8) Dasabukh-sāra and 9) Mūla-chara. The term *navakarma-sāra* of our in-

scription indicates the above mentioned sāras and it is significant to note that for the first time we come across this term in the inscription of Āndhradēśa.

Of the territorial divisions mentioned in this inscription, the Pōtupa-vishaya is known to us for the first time. The Kāndyam Plates of Dānārṇava (970 A.D.)[11], the Pithāpuram plates of Vīrachōḍa (1102 A.D.)[12], the Simhāchalam inscription (1178 A.D.)[13] refer to the territorial division Pottapi-nāḍu or Pottapi vishaya which generally comprise the area covering the present Rajampet taluk of Cuddapah District. But the present Pōtupa-vishaya can be safely identified with Pottapi-nāṇḍu vishaya-300 or Pottapi nāḍu comprises the present Pithapuram taluk of East Godavari District. Since the place of find of the charter in the East Godavari, identify it iss possible to this territorial division with the above mentioned area.

Charter B.- The set contains three plates strung together to a ring which is soldered to a high based seal. The seal is in oval shape and the figures of Sūrya and Chandra are carved above the animal varāha. An *aṅkuśa* is carved in front of the *Varāha*. The legend *śrī Vishamasiddhi* is engraved horizontally on the seal.

The charter was issued by the King Bhaṭṭāraka Maṅgi mahārāja, the son of Pṛithivīvallabha (*... pṛithivīvallabha nāmadhēyasya putriṇa Bhaṭṭāraka Maṅgirājan...*) during his second regnal year, Jyēshṭha, śu.13, Wednesday (*pravardhamāna Vijayarājya saṁvatsarē dvitiyē pravardhamāna jēshṭha māsē śukla pakshē trayōdasyāṁ chandra dine...*) It records the gift of a land measuring two *nivarttanas* to Jaina pontiff kanakanadyāchārya, the disciple of Gihana ndyāchārya, the follower of Aupanīya and vṛiksha mūla saṁgha at the time of king's initiation to Jaina dharma. Gihananadyāchāryya is said to have resided in Puruchai nāḍu in Draviḷa vishaya (*...Aupanīya vṛiksha mūla saṁghēshu Draviḷa vishayē Puruchai nāḍu grāmamadhivasat Gihanandyāchāryya sishyaḥ and Kanaka nadyā=upadēśa labdhēna...*).

This is the first copper plate charter mentioning Māṅgi as *mahārājaṅ*, whereas other plates refer to him as Maṅgi-yuvarāja. The second point is that this is only earliest copper-plate charter so far known referring to the Jaina preceptors Gihana ndyāchārya, who is stated to have stationed at Puruchai-nāḍu of Dravila-vishaya and to his disciple Kanakanandyāchārya. Generally, we come across Jaina epigraphical references only from the period of Ammarāja I i.e. Maliyapūṇḍi copper plates, wherein Ammarāja renewed the grants of Jaina basadis constructed by Vishṇu varadhana I.

Dravila vishaya may be identified with the area in and around Kāñchī. If this is accepted, Puruchi-nāḍu may be identified with the place name Puruṇai near Kāñchī.

Another important point to be noted here is that the king issued this grant when he stationed at the capital Kasimi of Minuṁbāka vishaya. We have a place name called Kasimkōṭa in Pithapuram taluk of East Godavari District. This place kāsimī of our record this can be safely identified with Kāsimī.

The Kadyām plates of Chāḷukya Bhīma[14] mention two teritorial divisions. Among them was Minabaka vishaya. The identification of Minuṁbāka-vishaya was not attempted by Dr. S.S.R. Murthy.

Taking Kasimi as *rājadhāni* into consideration, we can say that Minuṁbāka vishaya might have comprised the arc in and around of Kāsiṁkoṭa.

I Set

T E X T[15]

FIRST PLATE, SECOND SIDE

1. Svasti[16] Vijayavāṭi skandhāvārāt śrī matā sakā(ka)la jagad-a -
2. bhīshṭha (shṭhā)ya Mānavya sagōtrāṇām (ṇāṁ) svāmi -
3. Mē(Ma)hāsēna pād-ānudhyātānāma (ṇāṁ) Kauśikī vara prasāda labdha rā -
4. jyānāma(ṁ) Bhagavan=Nārāyaṇa prasāda samāsa(sā)[di]ta vara Va -
5. rāha lāñchchanānām Aśvamēdha= āvabhṛitha snāna pavitrīkṛita
6. vapushāṁma(ṁ) Chaḷukyānāṁ kula jaladhi samudit - ēndu naya - vinaya
7. vikramā[r*]jjita chāru-bhūri-kīrttiḥ śrī Vishṇuvarddhana-mahāraja [ḥ]

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

8. tasy=ātmajaḥ śrī Jayasiṃha vallabha mahārājaḥ tat=priy-ānujasya
9. tyāgōdō(d-ā)ryyā - gōṁ(gōṁ)bhīryya kāntyādi guṇa gaṇālaṁkṛita sarīrasya sva -
10. vikram-ākrānta mahīmaṇḍalasy = ēndra samāna vikramasy = Ēndra bha -
11. ṭṭārakasya priya tanayaḥ sv-āsi dhāran = amita-ripu-nṛipati -
12. makuṭa taṭaghaṭit - ānēka maṇi kiraṇa rāga rañjita charaṇa-yu -
13. galaḥ(laḥ) parama brahmaṇyē(ṅya) mātā pitṛi pād = ānudhyātaḥ kali
14. timira nirasta kēt = ōdyōtita praḷa yō(yā)dityaḥ śrī Visha =

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

15. masiddhi mahārājō(ḥa) Vṛiksha mūla Yāpanīya gaṇa tilaka -
16. sya bhagavataḥ Kanakanandyā chāryyasya dharmōpadēśa naka
17. sumisthitāya jinālayāya bhagavatā mahātō mahāba -
18. li vaiśvā dēva navakarmma sa(sā)ra nētrī sva dharmma(mmā)bhivṛiddha [yē]
19. [Pōtupa] vishayē elinadyāt pūrvva ta Jēmanū

r uva grāmā

20. [da]kshiọē Na

l puru grō(grā)māt paśchimē Intē

r u grāmāt

21. uttarē ēshāna(ṁ) madhyē Pattipōka grāmāt datam[——]

THIRD PLATE

22. dākaraṇīya ita

h para - śa bhūta rājya rājabhir = paripā

23. latavyam atra vyāsagītaḥ [||*] Bahubhir vvasudhā dattā
11. ṭṭārakasya priya tanayaḥ sv-āsi dhāran = amita-ripu-nṛipati -

24. bahubhiśch - ānupālitā yasya yasya yadhā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya

25. tadhā phalam [||*] Sva putā chhātrā gō vipra pālayō

26. kshitta(t-u)pasthi nāma yōgati sōha bhūmi ... sā

27. sanāmkitām [|*] Ayam dharmma pradhama varsham paripālitāni

28. Aṇati svamukham-ubhaya-gaṇa rakshitavyam śrī[||*]

II Set

T E X T [17]

FIRST PLATE, SECOND SIDE

1. Svasti[2] [|*] Śrī Vijayaskandhā(a) vārāt śrīmatā Mānavya sagōtrāṇāṁ Hārītī putrāṇāṁ Mātṛigaṇa pa -

2. ripālitānāṁ Bhagavan = Nārāyaṇa prasāda samāsādita varāha lāṁchchan = ēksha[ṇa*] vaśīkṛit = ā -

3. śēsha mahīmaṇḍa[lānāṁ*] aśva mēdh āvabhṛitha snāna pavitrī kru(kṛi)ta gōtrāṇāṁ Chalukyānāṁ

4. kulam = alaṁkarishṇōr =nēka samara- sāhasā(s=ā)valabdha vijayasya śrī Vishṇuvarddhana -

5. mahārājasya pautraḥ Śrīmad = Ind[r*]a bhaṭṭāraka mahārājasya priya tanayaḥ pravarddhamāna -

6. pratāpōpanata samasta sāmanta maṇḍalaḥ Manvādi praṇīta dharmma śāstra pracharita vṛiddhiḥ

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

7. Yudhishṭhira iva satya sandhaḥ Bṛihaspatir = iva nāmajñaḥ Manur = iva ... jñaḥ mātā pitṛi

8. pād = ānudhyātaḥ śrī Vishṇuvarddhana mahārājaḥ [Mu]dinī grāmau . . vī lōkasya pṛithivī -

9. vallabha nāmadhēyasya putriṇō(tro) Bhaṭṭāraka Maṅgirājaḥ Pōntikaly = aupanī -

10. ya vṛiksha mūla saṁgha (ghē) shu Dravila vishayē Puruchainādu grāmam - adhivasat

11. Gihanandyāchāryyasya śishyaḥ Kanakanandyā upadēśa-labdhēna vijñap ithḥ-ēva -

12. m = ājñāpayati Mīnuṁbāka vishayē Kisimi-nāma rājadhānyām = adhivasat -

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

13. saparirājapura viditam = astu vō [——*]

14. pravarddhamāna vijaya-rajya-saṁvatsarē dvitīyē pravarddhamāna Jyēshṭha māsē śukla pa -

15. kshē trayōdaśyāṁ chandra-dinē Kavi alaṁbukshētra nivarttana dvayaṁ asya kshētrasya pū -

16. rvvataḥ tōṭakshētrañcha . . kaṁ sahasra vṛiksha varāhana . . tasya sīmā chihna -

17. ni[18] pūrvvaṇdakshinā Vihajarakūṭa kshētraṁ paśchimēka-simaṁ ... uttarē brāhma[ṇi]ya

18. bhaṭṭāraka Nañchi vihārāya aghaṭāya ya nāma asmat = puṇya = āyur ārōgya yaś = bhivṛiddhayē

THIRD PLATE, FIRST SIDE

19. sa[rvva]kara parihārī kṛityā gōkaraṇīyā Ājñapti Sōśa[r*]mā

20. Baha(hu)vir[bhir] = vasudhā datta bahu bhiśch_ = anupalitā yasya yasya yadāh-bhūmis = tasya tasya tadhā-phalaṁ

21. shasṭhīvarsha sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdatim bhūmi-dānaḥ[|*] Ākshēptā ch = anumantā-cha

(Lines 22 to 24 are completely erased)

THIRD PLATE, SECOND SIDE

25. . . . pu(pū)rvva sīma Sōrivāḍa dakshiṇa-sīmā vā . . .

26. paśchima nāgaruvuḥ uttara-sīmā . . pō -

27. ka[vi]vēlupu . . .

Notes & References :

1. Sri J. Durga Prasad : *Śrī Vishamasiddhi* Peddāpurappāḍu Tāmra śāsanamu - 1 ; Bhāarati (Telugu) October, 1983, pp. 48 ff and plates.
2. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry : *Seals and Emblems of the Eastern Chāḷukyas,* Dr. G.S. Gai Felicitation Volume, 'Indian History and Epigraphy', (1990), New Delhi, pp. 167 ff.
3. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XXX, pp.74 ff and plates.
4. *Ind.Ant.*, Vol.VII, pp.185 ff.
5. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916-17, App.A.No. 15.
6. *Ind.Ant.*, Vol.VII, pp.185 ff.
7. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916-17, App.A.No.14.
8. *Bharati* (Tel),October 1983, pp.48 ff and plates.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p.76.
10. S.P. Jain : *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, p. 126.
11. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.XI, pp.85 ff.
12. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. V, pp.70 ff.
13. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No.1187.
14. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp.85 ff.
15. From the inked impressions.
16. *+ A spiral design is carved at the beginning of the line.*
17. From the inked impressions.
18. *Read : Chihnāni.*

12. AN INFORMATION RETRIEVAL SYSTEM FOR TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

M Chandrasekaran, S Govindaraju & Abdul Huq

Computers have been increasingly used in archaeology, particularly in epigraphical research. A few projects linking epigraphy with the latest computer technology have been proposed and implemented with a fairly high degree of success at the Department of Statistics, Madras Christian College. Inspired and led by the late Prof. Gift Siromoney, the department has done pioneering work in developing computer methods for the study of ancient Tamil scripts and the Indus script (Siromoney, 1975 ; Siromoney et al., 1979, 1980, 1983w ; Huq, 1988). In continuation of the work done so far, we have taken up a major project funded by the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India. As a part of it, we propose to develop an automatic information retrieval system for Tamil inscriptions which can be effectively used by epigraphists and historians as well (Chandrasekaran et al., 1993).

Scholars have made attempts to study Tamil inscriptions in order to reconstruct history (Sethuraman, 1987) and to understand the socio-economic conditions of the people of our region (Karashima and Subbarayalu, 1976). Studies such as these are possible only if information on inscriptions is readily available. In spite of the best efforts by epigraphists, only a fraction of inscriptions has been published and even the published inscriptions are not available in a ready-to-use form which is easily accessible.

What is needed immediately to obviate the difficulty in assessing the required information quickly is an efficient computer system to preserve the details regarding inscriptions. It is but only the first step in this direction, since a scholar who wishes to make use of the system can not be expected to know about its structure and the other technical details pertaining to it. The area of information storage and retrieval, which is currently popular in computer science, has proved valuable in many fields, especially business and commerce. It is possible to harness these database management techniques to serve the purpose of epigraphists. In this paper, we report about an attempt that has been made in this direction.

On the basis of three published volumes of Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology (Nagaswamy, 1978 ; Nagaswamy and Padmavathy 1979), we have collected material pertaining to a small corpus of inscriptions. The details considered include taluk, village, dynasty, name of the king, regnal year, period, location and the number of lines in the inscription. In all, thirteen factors have been selected initially. With this database, a software system has been developed in Foxbase. To benefit from the system, the user does not have to know about computers. Appropriate instructions at every step will help him to get the required information.

A few examples may bring out the basic features of the system. A researcher may wish to know the villages where the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I have been found. Another researcher may be interested in determining where, in the vil-

lage of Achutamaṅgalam, tenth century inscriptions have been found. A third researcher may be in need of information on the names of kings and the village Narimaṇam. A few keystrokes will get them the answers that they are looking for.

It is no order at this point to describe how our system forms the queries. It requires an explanation about variable factors and conditions. When we query, "What are the villages where Kulōttuṅga I inscriptions have been discovered ?", we specify the name of the king and ask for the name of each village with at least one Kulōttuṅga I inscription in it. By specifying the name of a particular king, we impose a condition. Since we ask for information on villages, "village" becomes a variable factor. To put it simply, what we know at the time of the query forms the condition, while what we seek to know constitutes a variable factor. In the second query - that is, "Where have the tenth century inscriptions been found in Achutamaṅgalam ? " - we ask for the location, given the period and the village. Thus, period and village provide the condition while the location becomes the variable factor.

The system will ask the user to identify the variable factors and specify the conditions. In this process, he will receive help from the system itself. In other words, the system is menu-driven and user-friendly. Thus, he will not have any difficulty in using it. Apart from the ease of use, another feature is the speed. Queries will be answered in a matter of seconds.

What we have developed is the prototype of a system that will prove useful to epigraphists. It will relieve them of tedious clerical work, constant search for books and a time-consuming process of search. Currently, our database contains about three hundred inscriptions and our system can handle several types of queries. We propose to extend its scope by including more factors like technical terms and personal names. Feedback from scholars attending the Congress will help us to perfect the system which will, in its final form, include information on unpublished inscriptions as well.

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13. KĀKKALŪR INSCRIPTION OF PARAKĒSARIVARMAN

S. Swaminathan

Kākkalūr is in Tiruvallur taluk of Chingleput district. An inscribed stone with a sculpture of a warrior on its back set up behind the Āñjanēya [1] temple was discovered. This incription is edited here on account of its interesting nature. We do not have any other epigraph or other antiquities in the village except this solitary inscription.

This inscription is engraved in Tamil language and characters. Meaning of certain passages in the text are not clear as they are not correctly engraved. It is dated in the sixth regnal year of a king who bore the title Parakēsarivarmaṉ. It states that a person Vaḷḷuvaṉ Kalivīriya Muttaraiyaṉ of Kākkalūr, who was in the service of (*sēvagam*) of the senior men (*perumakkaḷ*) of that village lost his life while fighting against the robbers. It is said that when the robbers swarmed the village he bravely fought against them and died. The *sabhā* made a grant of land *kalippaṭṭi* with its appurtenances (*maṉaippaḍappai*) and also a share in the tax collected towards providing protection to the village (*pāḍikāval*) to the son of the deceased who was also called Kalivīriya Muttaraiyaṉ.

This record on the grounds of palaeography has been assigned to tenth century A.D[2]. Especially the test letters like *ka*, *ṭa*, *ṟa*, *ṉa*, etc., point to tenth century as the style of writing. Hence, this record may be assigned to the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I (907 - 55 A.D.), who was called both *Parakēsarivarmaṉ*[3] and *Madiraikoṇḍakōp-Parakēsarivarmaṉ*[4] in his inscriptions. The availability of Parāntaka I's records in this region[5] also supports the above identification.

The person who was killed in this encounter in all likelihood must be a sentry entrusted with the task of protecting the area from robbers. The warrior portrayed in this hero-stone may be taken to represent this person. His name is given as Vaḷḷuvaṉ Kalivīriya Muttaraiyaṉ. It is not known whether Vaḷḷuvaṉ was his caste name or professional name. If it is taken to be his caste name, then the other term *Muttaraiyaṉ* might be a title bestowed on him. If it is his professional name, he might be a Muttaraiyar chief whose identity is not known. Tamil literature informs[6] us that a Vaḷḷuvaṉ was a herald announcing the royal decree and proclamations to the public by sitting on the back of an elephant. It is possible that the hero of this inscription might have discharged similar functions apart from affording protection to the village. The second term *Kalivīriya* means one who vanquishes wickedness (*Kali*). If this record is assigned to Parāntaka Chōḷa I, the latter king might possess this title, Kalivīriyaṉ. However, it is not certain how Parāntaka I came to possess the title *Kalivīriyaṉ*, because in Tamil epigraphy the Kaḷabhras who ruled over the Tamil country in the early centuries of the Christian era (100-400 A.D.) are called Kali kings[6] on account of their evil and wicked ways. Parāntaka I was far removed from the time of the Kaḷabhras and only the first ruler of the second Pāṇḍyan empire Kaḍuṅkōṉ(570 A.D.) defeated the Kaḷabhras[8] and rescued the Tamil country.

As stated above the identity of this person Vaḻḻuvaṉ Kalivīriya Muttaraiyaṉ is not known. An inscription[9] of Parāntaka I dated in his 19th regnal year (926 A.D.) from Paḷḷikoṇḍai, North Arcot district refers to the construction of an *ardhamaṇḍapa* to a Śiva temple by one Karuvili Muttaraiyaṉ. It is not known whether the latter person, Karuvili Muttaraiyaṉ and the person of the inscription examination here Kalivīriya Muttaraiyaṉ are one and not same or different.

The group robber who raided the village is called as *aḷaikkaḷḷar*. *Aḷai* denotes 'a cave or a cavern in a rock in the mountain'[10]. Perhaps these robbers came from such rocky mountains which are found in this area.

It is mentioned in the inscription under study that his son also bore the same name Kalivīriya Muttaraiyaṉ and that he was granted land as *Kalippaṭṭi*. It is a rare occurrence and has not been met with before. *Kali* means battle, war, wickedness, calamity, etc[11]. Hence, *Kalippaṭṭi* denotes 'land *(paṭṭi)* donated to a person who fell fighting against the robbers'. Therefore, the land donated to his son is called *Kalippaṭṭi*. The latter term is analogous with *nettalpaṭṭi* found in the early records.[12] In this context an inscription of Parāntaka I[13] (935 A.D.) from Periyavārikkam, Gudiyattam taluk, North Arcot district deserves our attention. This record states that a grant of five hundred *kuḻi* of land was made as *nettalpaṭṭi* by the assembly of Vārikkayam *alias* Chandrādityamaṅgalam to the wife and children of a certain Sāmanāyagaṉ Sāttan Tāḻi, a close attendant of Rājakēsaripanma Bhaṭṭakēsari who took part in the skirmish while recovering cattle and died.

Another interesting aspect of this inscription is a reference made to the tax term *pāḍikāval*. Perhaps this is one of the earliest references to this term.[14] An inscription[15] of Rājarāja I (995 A.D.) from Tiṇḍivaṉam refers to a piece of land as *pāḍikkāppāṉpaṭṭi*. Perhaps this land might have been earmarked for the livelihood of a person who protects the village. However references to this tax term in the early records are rare.

It is not stated whether the son of the deceased was given the job of providing protection to the village. But as he was given a share in the *pāḍikāval* tax and also a house to dwell in it is not impossible to suggest that he might have also been given the job. Hence, we may hold *kalippaṭṭi* was a service tenure.

TEXT

1. [Svasti śrī] Parakēsaripaṉ -
2. maṟku yāṇḍu āṟāvadu Kā -
3. [k]kalūr(ruk) kuḷ Vaḻḻuvaṉ
4. [Ka]livīriya Muttaraiyaṉ i -
5. vvūrpperumakkaḷukku ch
6. chēvagam poṉāṉa perumat
7. t=aḷaikkaḷḷar vaḷaittu
8. dukka. koḷḷaippuga ōṭ -
9. ṉ iṉṟu kaḷḷarōḍu piṉ
10. ṉ vagapperumakkaḷ muṉ -
11. bu nāṉ niṟka ōṭṭeṉ-eṉṟu
12. paṭṭaṉ [1*] Ivaṉ magaṉṉ Kalivī -
13. riya Muttaraiyaṉukku iṉ -
14. Kalippaṭṭi nilamum maṉai -

15. yum maṉaip-[paḍap]pum pāḍikā [Va*] -

16. [lil] oru kūṟu āga nām [ka]...

17. kkilum vachchōm

18. sabhaiyōm [||*]

Notes & References :

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1948, No. 54.
2. *Ibid.*, part II, p. 3.
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol XIX, Nos. 25, 35, 42, 48.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol.VII, Nos. 504, 506, 507, 508.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol.VI, Nos 363, 372, 291 ; *Ibid.*, Vol.XIX, No. 185.
6. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with commentary by Parimēlaḻagar, Madras (1937). However, the modern Vaḻḻuvar's professional duties are different. The modren Vaḻḻuvar's duties include writing charms for the sick people, preparing horoscopes and making forecasts of good or evil by means of cabalistic squares marked on the ground. See Edgar Thurston : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (1909), p. 305.
7. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XVII, p. 293.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *A.R. Ep.*, 1925, No.476.
10. M. Winslow: *Tamil and English Dictionary*, Madras (1862), p.51.
11. *Ibid.*, p.256.
12. *Ep., Carn*, Vol. XVII, Sp.116.
13. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, No.180. It is interesting to note that even in these days the practice of donating free sites of land to the family of those police officials who lay down their lives while performing the duties, is followed. See *Deccan Herald* dated September 15, 1992.
14. Y.Subbarayalu seems to suggest that it began to appear from the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.). See his article *The Cōḻa State, Studies in History* Vol.IV, (No.2), p.294.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol VII, No.154.

14. TEMPLE AS A PROMOTER OF AGRICULTURE : A STUDY ON LAND GRANTS OF SIMHĀCHALAM

P. Bhaskar Reddy

Simhāchalam, a well-known Vaiśhṇava shrine is located on a hill near the village of Aḍivivaramu, which is at a distance of 15 kms to the north of Viśākhapatṇam, the principal port city of Andhra Pradesh. The presiding deity of the temple is Varāhanarasimha, the fourth incarnation of Vishṇu.

The present paper is based mainly on the epigraphical wealth found in the temple complex and all these inscriptions were published in volume VI of the series of the South Indian Inscriptions. There are in all 525 incriptions pertaining to the temple of Simhāchalam. The earliest inscription is dated 1087 A.D., and belongs to the 11th regnal year of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I[1]. The latest inscription of the temple, dated 1798 A.D., registers the gift made by Cheṅgalvarāya of Goḍe family[2].

Inscriptions of this long period of more than 700 years ranging in dates from 11th to 18th centuries, contain numerous instances of a variety of gifts made by kings, queens, chiefs, their family members, ministers, merchants, the rich and the common people. Of all the gifts, gifts of land is considered to be the most meritorious. Obviously, it is a permanent source of income. During the period under review the temple received lands for various purposes such as for maintaining various services instituted by the donor like the food offerings, celebration of festivals and other services to the God. Land was also gifted to the temple for maintaining its cattle wealth, for raising gardens, and for the cultivation of various crops required to the temple.

As evidenced by the inscriptions, the Simhāchalam temple was the biggest land owner and occupied a very important place in the agrarian economy of the region. The inscriptions also reveal that the temple became very strong by land edowments made over the centuries. Right from the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas, this temple had considerable landed property. Both royal benefaction and patronage took the form of land grants.

The temple acquired lands around the hill on which it is built as a result of the endowments instituted by the devotees. Early inscriptions invariably refer to the acquisition of the land near the tank at Aḍivivaramu. The earliest inscription of the temple, dated 1087 A.D., mentions that a merchant of Penugoṇḍa purchased the land near the tank and made it over to the treasury of the temple[3]. In course of time even the lands or villages in distant provinces like Jantaru-nāḍu[4], Kailāyampūḍi[5], Bobbili[6], Teṅgāḍa[7], Velanāḍu[8], Poṭnūru[9] and Oḍyadēśa[10] were granted to the temple. A number of inscriptions in the temple belonging to the 13th, the 14th and the 15th centuries record the endowment of land to the temple for several purposes. Sometimes whole villages and at other times portions of villages or some plots of land, either irrigated or unirrigated were gifted. However, from the inscriptions, it is evident that the landed property increased considerably during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Gajapatis. Accord-

ing to the *Narāsiṁha śataka* of Gogulpāṭi Kūrmanātha Kavi, 865 acres of land was under the control of the temple at the beginning of the 16th century[11].

The inscriptions of the temple complex give us a mine of information regarding the types of land. The lands granted to the temple may be classified into *Jalakshētramu*[12], *meṭṭa-bhūmi*[13], *uḍupu-bhūmi*14, *chavuka-bhūmi*[15] and *tōṇṭa-gaṭṭu*[16]. *Jalakshētramu* indicates wet land. This is the most fertile land and fit for continuous cultivation. *Meṭṭa-bhūmi* refers to high land. This was cultivated through lift irrigation. Most probably this was used for growing dry crops like maize, black-gram, green-gram, ragi, etc. In some of the inscriptions it is recorded that the *meṭṭa-bhūmi* was donated for the maintenance of the cattle. This undoubtedly indicates that it served the purpose of grazing the cattle. In modern terms it is called as *bañjaru-bhūmi* or fallow land. *Vuḍupu-bhūmi* indicated land under cultivation. This invariably applies to wet land. Even in modern times, particularly in Coastal Andhra, this type of description of land is in common use. The other type of land that is referred to in the grants as *chavuṭa-bhūmi*. Sometimes it is referred as *chavuka-bhūmi*. This is in reference to its saline soil. This is not fertile but grass used to grow a plenty on it. Thus, like the *meṭṭa-bhūmi* this might have been used for providing grass to the cattle. This reference to *tōṇṭa-gaṭṭu* refers to garden land. Very often gardens bearing fruits, flowers, and various types of sacred plants, like *tuḷasi*, were gifted to the temple. The fruit, uhe flowers and the leaves of these sacred plants were used as part of the offering to the deity.

The inscriptions give us many details of endowments of land and money by various donors. They also reveal in detail the mode of the utilisation of land and the money. As evidenced by the inscriptions of the 12th and the 13th centuries, the temple invested its money received from the devotees, in the form of silver and gold coins for the development of the temple and near the tanks and streams of the region. There are many inscriptions of the temple belonging to the 12th and the 13th centuries which specifically give details about the nature of the investments to be made out of the capital endowment of the donor and the specific utilisation of the returns on it. For example, one of the inscription dated 1207 A.D., records that one srīrāma Chaṭōpādhyāya gifted 10 *bīragoṭṭapu-māḍas* for maintaining one *akhaṇḍadīpa* in the temple and that the same money was spent on deepening a tank at Duttāṇḍa. It further proceeds to state that the extent of one *puṭṭi* and *five tūmūs* of land irrigated by the aforesaid tank, was set apart and out of the income accruing from it, one *māna* of ghee was supplied daily to the temple for maintaining the *akhaṇḍadīpa* set up by the donor[17]. Another inscription, dated 1210 A.D., records that the amount of 10 *tyāgi-māḍas* gifted by one Narasiṁha-nāyaka for maintaining a *Vēdakhaṇḍikā* was utilised for excavating a tank. This inscription further states that, the produce of the land of one *puṭṭi* and five *tūmūs* in extent, which was irrigated by the above tank was utilised for offering *naivēdya* to the god. This inscription further proceeds to register that the *prasāda* of the god was made over to a teacher who was to teach Yajurvēda[18]. There are many such inscriptions which give similar details[19]. In such cases the temple authorities themselves took the respon-

sibility of maintaining a service as stipulated by the donor. In course of time, the temple appointed supervisors or certain local agents who took every precaution during the cultivation and the harvest and saw to it that after paying all wages and other dues to the farmers, the produce was brought to the temple. These agents were appointed by the temple or by the donors. This is evidenced by an inscription dated 1288 A.D., which records that a certain Oḍḍavādi chief by name Māṅkāditya Dēvarāja gifted some land in Pulluvāḍadhara to the temple. For the cultivation of this land he appointed a supervisor *Jīhari-naṁbyālu*, described as *tōṇṭa-parīksha.* He received remuneration from the donor who deposited it with the temple. In this record the donor gifted some land to the *tōṇṭa-parīkṣha*[20].

The foregoing discussion will enable us to draw the following conclusions. The kings, the queens, the merchants, the feudatories and the philanthropic public donated land profusely to the temple. The inscriptions will give us interesting information regarding the historical evolution of these land grants. Plots of land, villages and garden lands were normally donated to the temple. In the first instance the land and villages situated in and around the temple complex were donated. Afterwards lands and villages located in different parts like Jantarunāḍu, Velanāḍu, Oḍyadēśa, etc., were donated to the temple. The land donations to the temple, though started from the 11th century A.D., were extended upto 16th century A.D. It is known from the epigraphical evidences that a maximum amount of land donations accured during the rule of the Eastern Gaṅgas and Gajapatis of Orissa.

Inscriptions also give us information regarding the nature of the donations. Individual plots and complete villages were assigned to the temple. In some instances certain portions of villages were granted. In some instances, land under cultivation and also fertile land lying uncultivated were donated. The later method was used only under the policy of land reclamation or the extension of agriculture.

It is also clear from the above epigraphical references that the donors took very keen interest not only in the maintenance of the lands but also for the successful exploitation of the fertility of the soil. In this connection the donors appointed supervisors to look after the agricultural operations at different stages of cultivating various crops. It is of interest to state here that in one of the inscriptions referred to above, there is a reference to an official by name *tōṇṭa-parīksha.* The word *parīksha* refers to the designation of the supervisory officer in the administrative system of Eastern Gaṅgas. There, it is likely that some of the supervisors were even appointed to the Siṁhāchalam temple by the Eastern Gaṅgas[21].

In this connection we may state that these royal officials were in charge of looking after the agricultural operations over the lands and gardens donated by the royalty. Hence, we may state that *tōṇṭa-pariksha* was a royal official in charge of supervising the gardens donated by the kings or their kith and kin. In any case these officials or supervisors were maintained by the donations made by the donors but not by the temple treasury.

i) The innumerable donations of land and villages made to the temple by the kings, the nobles, and other wealthy peo-

ple etc., literally converted the temple into a landed magnate.

ii) The lands donated to the temple were located in the proximity of streams, tanks and were adjecent to the villages. This facilitated a great deal to carry on the agricultural operations unhampered.

iii) Further, it is evident from the epigraphical evidence that along with land, cattle also came to be donated to the temple. Thus the cattle wealth improved and this in turn facilitated growth in agriculture.

iv) The epigraphs also give us information regarding land measurements. Land was measured in terms of the yielding capacity like *puṭṭis* and *tūmūs*.

It is thus evident that the temple promoted agrarian economy to a very great extent during the medieval period.

Notes & References :

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI. No. 1172.
2. Ibid., 1192.
3. Ibid., 1172.
4. Ibid., 725.
5. Ibid., 954.
6. Ibid., 950 and 951.
7. Ibid., 1101.
8. Ibid., 1132.
9. Ibid., 812 and 779.
10. Ibid., 998.
11. M. Rami Reddy "*A Critical Study of Siṁhādri Narasiṁhaśatakamu*" (M.Phil Thesis, unpublished, S.V. University) 1984, Chapter IV.
12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI. Nos. 785, 1088 and 1143.
13. Ibid., 729 and 757.
14. Ibid., 729.
15. Ibid., 1187.
16. Ibid., 975.
17. Ibid., 1182.
18. Ibid., 1177.
19. Ibid., 1172, 1178, 1183, 1201 and 1205.
20. Ibid., 975.
21. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra* (A.D. 1038-1538) *under the later Eastern Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśa Gajapatis* (Nellore, 1976,).

15. THE ROLE OF THE TRAIKŪṬAKAS IN ANCIENT INDIAN TRADE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

Sharmila Joshi

The Sātavāhana decline in Western India caused the rise of many small states. The Traikūṭakas were one of them. They came into power around c. 417 A.D. The Traikūṭakas, had their control over Aparānta and south Gujarat. This area is rich with many ports and trade centres.

The epigraphic and numismatic evidence reveals the names of Traikūṭaka kings such as Indradatta, Dharasēna, Vyāghrasēna, Madhyamasēna and Vikramasēna. Indradatta came to power in 417 A.D. Harisēna's *praśasti* at Ajanta cave no. XVI[1], informs us that the Traikūṭakas were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas.

So far, five copper plates of the Traikūṭakas are known. They are from[2] Pardi, Surat, Matvan and Kanhēri. Out of these five copper plates three were issued from Aniruddhapura. Aniruddhapura was the capital of the Traikūṭakas. According to Prof. Mirashi[3] Aniruddhapura is located near Ten in Surat Dist. while Dr. Hultzsh[4] has identified it with Surparaka, Sopara in Thana Dist. Yet the exact location is not known.

Aniruddhapura can be identified with the modern Andhēri, the suburb of metropolitan Bombay. Aniruddha, the name, itself means ungovernable. If Andhēri is taken as Aniruddhapura its geographical locale is also to be considered.

From Andhēri, Bhaynder creek is near by. But the most important place, is Bhivandi creek. It is near Andhēri. It is narrow and shallow in parts. Its position on a navigable stream, on direct line of traffic, through the Thal pass, have made Bhivandi an important sea port[5]. Bhivandi is mentioned as Bhinda by Ptolemy. Naturally these two creeks gave natural fortification for Aniruddhapura. From Bhivandi, Sopara and Kalyāṇ, the two celebrated sea ports are nearby. Thus Andhēri is in a position to monitor trade.

In the Ulhas basin, the Koṅkaṇ coast widens into the Sahyādris, to form an arc. Kalyāṇ lies at the centre of this basin. Its situation is important as a place of strategic control of communication network. In this area the Sahyādris are broken by three natural passes, the Thal, the Nana and the Bor. Kalyāṇ lies in!a favourable position to dominate the routes between the coast and the plateau. The Traikūṭakas had their control over this part, which helped in trading activit.

The trade was flourishing in their times. This is evident through epigraphic and numismatic evidences. The Matvan plates of Vikramasēna[6] mentions that Kallivana is near Nāsik. Nāsik was an important ancient trade centre. Thal ghāṭ connects the Koṅkaṇ coast with Nāsik. It shows that the Traikūṭakas had their control over Thal ghāṭ. Madhyamasēna had granted a village in Thal ghāṭ. The importance of Thal ghāṭ as trade centre is also known through Thalner grant of the Chalukya king Maṅgaḷēsa. From this place, way to Ujjain is nearby. The Thal ghāṭ is also linked with the Nānā ghāṭ

upto Junnar. Junnar was also an important trade centre. It shows that the Traikūṭakas had their control over inland trade also.

Due to the control over Koṅkaṇ coast and the inland trade routes, the Traikūṭakas had their trade contacts!with Western countries too. As well they had cultural contacts with Western countries. For this, the evidence comes from Kanhēri inscription[7]. It mentions of ward in Kalyāṇ, named Ghandharika Bhami. It suggests the migration of the people from Gāndhāra.

Safe trade was flourished in the Traikūṭaka kingdom. They enjoyed a stable economic and social life. This is indicated by the numismatic evidence. The Traikūṭakas issued the silver coinage. On the contrary, the Vākāṭakas did not issue silver coins.

The Traikūṭaka coins were found at places near Surat. A big hoard of their coins was found at Karad in Indopur Taluka[9] and in Karad Taluka in Poona district. As well some coins were found in Vidarbha at Dahigaon[10]. It shows that the Traikūṭakas had their contacts in Deccan also. The find spots of their coins and copper plates shows that the Traikūṭakas were controlling not only the Western coast but a corresponding length at Western Ghats reaching at least as far as Nāsik and possibly beyond the Deccan plateau.

Periplus had mentioned the chief exports of trade were seasamun, oil, ginger, dress, cotten, silk, spices, indigo, pearls, metals and gold. While the imports were wines of several kinds, coral, silver, silver vases, glass, slaves and drugs. Thus they had the rich trade contacts with westward countries. It shows that the Traikūṭakas, though they were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas issued their own coinage, to maintain trade contacts.

The flourishing trade activities naturally gave economic, political, social stability. It is evident through the excavations of the caves at Kanhēri, Kondivit and Jōgēshwari. All these places are near Andhēri. The inscriptions at Kanhēri[11] shows that the donors were merchants, goldsmiths, etc. Actually, the Traikūṭakas were not the donors to excavate these monasteries. But economic prosperity and stability gave impetus to excavate such religious centres. And the Buddist monasteries, during these times were working as banks. Their position on seacoast, near the trade route naturally helped them in working as banks. It is also observed that in ancient times that Buddhist monastries were excavated along the trade route. This practice continued up to the times of the Traikūṭakas.

The Kanhēri plates dated 245 - 46 mentions, the construction of *Chaitya*. It was excavated by Buddharuchi, a resident of the village Kanaka in the Sindhuvishaya. It shows the cultural contacts upto Sindhudēśa.

The Traikūṭakas were the devotees of Vishṇu. It is evident through their coins. On their coins, they call themselves as *Paramabhāgavata*[13]. It also shows the influence of their overlords, the Vākāṭakas. They were the Vaishṇava devotees.

The Traikūṭaka power declined around 550 A.D. They were defeated by the Kalachuris. Not only the political cause, caused their decline but some environmental factors also were responsible for the decline of the trade activity.

The environmental factor can be explained with the help of the theory by Brairsan John and Red[14]. The theory mentions that the "Signficant changes occuring at other places have dynamic connections that interlink climatic changes in the other parts of the globe"[16]. As well, it is also accepted that during the cold climate in Europe, Western hemisphpere has to face the drought. Naturally it affects the sea level change.

During the Traikūṭaka period the climate in India was dry, while European countries had to face cold climate, around 4th 5th century A.D. The records also mention that this period was the period of urban decay[16] and feudalism. It is also mentioned by Yuwan Chaung.

Notes & References :

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3. Ibid
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12. Ibid.
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14. Red Bryson and John, *Climate Variation Implications for the World Food Production, World Developmet,* Vol.V. (1977)
15. Sulman F.G., *Short and long term changes in Climate,* Vol. II (Florida), (1982)
16. Sharma R.S., *Urban Decay* (1987)

16. VELLORE FORT MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF NANDIVARMAN II

S. Rajavelu

The subjoined inscription was copied by me from Fort museum, Vellore, North Arcot Ambedkar district. This hero-stone inscription was first noticed by Mrs. Murthisvari, Assistant Archaelogist, Vellore at Mēlsāṅkuppam, a hamlet very near Āmbūr in Vaniyampadi taluk of the same district[1]. As the inscription is found to be very important for the study of political history of that period, it is being edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore and Dy Superintending Epigraphist, Madras.[2]

The stone bears at the top a Tamil inscription and below on a countersunk surface, a bas-relief representing a warrior on horse back facing towards left. The prancing horse was shown as advancing towards proper left. The hero holds a sword in his raised right hand and in his left hand, the reins. A dagger encased in a sheathe is shown hanging down from his belt. Infront of the horse a lamp is seen. The inscription runs on the left side of the stone and continues below.

The inscription is in Tamil language and characters of about 8th century A.D. The usual expression *svasti śrī* is written in Grantha character. The inscription is interesting both palaeographically and lexicographically. The alphabet of this inscription resembles that of the inscription at Tiruvallam of the Pallava king i.e., Nandivarmaṉ II[3]. Dots (*pulḷi*) have been uniformly used all over the pure consonants. The words *miṇḍal-paṭṭi* and *śemmār-paṭṭi* in lines 7-8, 10-11 are noteworthy. The word *miṇḍal* etymologically means an act of bravery or courage and the word *śemmār* probably is derived from *śemmāṉ* which means a horse.[4]

The inscription is dated in the 12th regnal year i.e., 743 A.D. of the Pallava king Nandivarman II. It records the death of Viṇaiyīttaṉ, son-in-law (*marumagaṉ*) of Bāṇamuttaraiyar by the cavalry attack (*kudirai muṭṭaṇi*) of Viśaiyādittaṉ *alias* Kampaḍigaḷ in the battle Poṉṉēṟa. Viṇaiyīttaṉ's courageous activities along with his brave horse were rewarded with lands.(*paṭṭi*)

The interesting fact mentioned in this inscription is that the army of vijayāditya had an encounter with that of Viṇaiyittaṉ, son-in-law of Bāṇamuttaraiyar in the battle of Poṉṉēṟa wars Muruṅgai was attacked. So, here the two subordinate chiefs are being mentioned which will aid us in fixing the date of the Noḷaṁba ruler. This Poṉṉēṟa may be identified with the Noḷaṁba king Chārupoṉṉēṟa father of Poḷalchōra. The probable date of Chārupoṉṉēṟa has been fixed by N.L. Rao between c.775-800.[5] This approximate date given by him is on the basis of the date of Rāsṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda II's inscription. He ruled from 772-75 A.D. Hence, the earliest date given to Chārupoṉṉēṟa is c.775. From our inscription it can be inferred that Chārupoṉṉēṟa might have either as-

cended the throne of the Nolamba kingdom before 743 A.D. or he might have been the prince under his father Singapōta who is mentioned in a hero-stone inscription from Dodda-Ulavarti as a subordinate of a certain Permmāṇaḍi.[6] This Permmāṇaḍi is identified with Śrīpurusha of the Western-Gaṅga family.[7]

The political condition during the period of Nandivarman II was unstable. Vikramāditya-II, Chalukya king of Vātāpi invaded Kāñchī with the help of his ally Śrīpurusha Koṅgaṇi-arasa (A.D. 725-776), the Western Gaṅga ruler.[8] It is possible that the Western Gaṅga's subordinate i.e., Noḷamba king Chāru-poṉṉēṟa invaded the north-western part of Pallava country and met at the place Muruṅgai under the commandership of Vijayāditya *alias* Kampaḍigaḷ in the year 743 A.D. The Western Gaṅga ruler Śrīpurusha's inscriptions are also noticed in this region which supports his campaign over this region.[9] It is also evident that the Noḷambas and the Pallava subordinate Bāṇas were inimical towards each other during this period.

Viṇaiyīttaṉ, son-in-law of Bāṇa - Muttaraiyar found mentioned in our inscription can be identified with the Bāṇa chief who served as the subordinate of the Pallava king Nandivarmaṉ II. Bāṇa-Muttaraiyar, the uncle of Viṇaiyīttan of this inscription may be identified with Vāṇa-Muttaraśaru who figured in the two inscriptions of Taṇḍarāmpaṭṭu in Chengam Taluk of the same district.[10] These two inscriptions are dated in the 7th regnal year of Narasiṁhavarman II corresponding to 698 A.D. However, it has not been possible to fix the reign period of Chāruponṉēṟa as sufficent records are not available.

The place name Muruṅgai situated in Aḍaiyaṟu-nāḍu a sub-division of Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam can be identified with the village Kīḻ-Muruṅgai located very near to the findspot of the inscription.

TEXT

1. [Svastī]śrī Kōviśaiya Nandivikki-rama paruma -
2. [ṟ]ku yāṇḍu paṉṉiranḍ-āvadu Paḍuvūrk-
3. kōṭṭattu Aḍaiyaṟu - nāḍu Viśaiyāditta
4. n-āṉa Kampaḍigaḷ Muruṅgai mēṟ paḍaivanda
5. ñāṉṟu Poṉṉēṟar kaḷattiluḷ Bāṇa(ṇa)-Mu -
6. ttaraiyar marumagaṉ Viṇaiyīttaṉ kudirai
7. muṭṭaṇi mēl eṟindu paṭṭāṉ avaṟku miṇa -
8. l - paṭ -
9. ṭiyum
10. śemmā -
11. rp-paṭ-
12. ṭiyum
13. [kuḍu]ttu
14. .....id-aḷitāṉ na[11] -

Notes and References : 1. A note on this inscription was read by Dr. Dayalan in the seminar held at Tamil University, Thanjavur in 1990. It is to be noted that there are some differences in his readings and he has not drawn any importance of the inscription.

2. It is included in the *A.R.Ep.* for the year 1992-93.

3. *S.I.I.* Vol III, part I, No42.

4. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol.V, p.3186;3196.

5. *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol.XLVII, p.29.

6. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Hallakere-8.

7. *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol.XLVIII, p.29.

8. K.V.Ramesh, *Chalukyas of Vatapi,* p. 158.

9. *Dharmapuri Naḍukaṟkkaḷ*, Vols I and II, nos. 47, 62, 76. The Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha's 16th regnal year (743 A.D.) inscription found at Muttṉūr in Harur taluk corraborates the date of our inscription and also confirms his supremacy over this region.

10. *Cheṅgam Naḍukaṟkkaḷ*, No 69, 69 of 1971.

11. Incomplete and damaged.

17. EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO THE MAHĀRĀJA - MAHĀVIHĀRA OF KṚISHṆAGIRI

Ramakant R. Bhoir.

Kaṇhēri is situated at the distance of 10 km. to the South-East of Borivali, one of the suburbs of Metropolitan Bombay city. The place is famous for its Buddhist Caves. There are about 104 rock-cut-caves at Kaṇhēri which were excavated during different periods. In the inscriptions at Kaṇhēri it is described as Mahārāja Mahāvihāra.[1] It clearly shows that Kaṇhēri was one of the greatest Buddhist monasteries in ancient India that was associated with learned Buddhist monks. As a result of their residence at such monasteries they were turned into centres of education. Kaṇhēri was also such an educational centre in this area. It will be interesting to study the development of Kaṇhēri as a great centre of Buddhism as well as Buddhist studies.

One of the rock edicts of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka was found at Sopāra, which is very near from Kaṇhēri.[2] This clearly shows that the Koṅkaṇ region formed a part of the Mauryan empire[3]. In Aśoka's edicts it was mentioned by the term 'Aparānta'[3] meaning the Western most region. After the third Buddhist Council which was held at Pāṭaliputra, Aśoka deputed a number of Buddhist missionaries to different parts in India as well as to the neighbouring countries[4]. Yavaṇa Dharmarakshita, who was a Greek monk was deputed by Aśoka to the Aparānta region. This clearly shows that the Koṅkaṇ region of Maharashtra came under Buddhist influence +as early as the third century B.C. In those days Sopāra was the chief town of this region,[5] and naturally it became a prominent Buddhist centre within a short time. The eighth rock-edict of Aśoka as well as the remains of the Buddhist stūpa found at Sopāra bear testimony to this.

In those days Sopāra was a busy centre of trade and commerce[6]. As a result of this a large trading community resided there. Most of them became followers of Buddhism. In the Jātaka stories we come across a reference to the Buddha's visit to Sopāra. It clearly shows that Sopāra had become one of the chief centres of Buddhism under the Mauryas. Because of this a large number of Buddhist monks came to Sopāra and stayed there.

The Buddhist monks used to preach their religion during the dry season. During the rainy season they used to stay in a Buddhist monastery. In these circumstances a Buddhist monastery had to be established at Sopāra. Sopāra was already a busy centre of commercial activities. Therefore it was not suitable for the permanent residence of the Buddhist monks who required a solitary place for meditation. It is probably under these circumstances that Kaṇhēri attracted the attention of the Buddhist monks as it was located in thick forest with a picturesque natural scenery.

After the fall of the Mauryan empire the Sātavāhanas came to power in the Deccan. The Sātavāhana rule proved

to be very important in the history of the Deccan. Because it marked tremendous progress in the economic and cultural condition of the Deccan. The main factor behind the economic progress was trade of India with the Roman Empire. This trade was mostly an export oriented trade[8]. Therefore it proved to be highly beneficial to India, because it brought the wealth of the Roman empire into India.

Sopāra was one of the chief centres through which this trade was carried. Naturally a rich trading community emerged out of this. These traders were mostly residents of the chief trade centres, in Koṅkaṇ region such as Sopāra, Kalyāṇ, Cheul and Nasik. Most of these traders had become the followers of Buddhism and therefore they donated large amounts to the Buddhist monastery that was established at Kaṇhēri. Most of the excavations of the *chaityas* and *vihāras* at Kaṇhēri were undertaken out of the funds donated by these traders. As a result of this the activity of rock-out excavation received a great momentum and a large number of *Śilāgṛihas* seem to have been excavated at Kaṇhērivihara.

It is rather difficult to say as to when exactly the work of excavation started at Kaṇhēri. But from the inscriptions in the caves it can be said that the activity began during the second century of the christian era, particularly when Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi had re-established the Sātavāhana rule in Koṅkan after putting end to the śaka power[9].

Kaṇhēri-vihāra continued to receive financial assistance from the traders of the nearby trading centres. This is evidenced by their inscriptions carved in these caves. For example in cave no 2 we come across the inscription engraved by Nāganaka a resident of Nasik who has recorded his gift of Chaitya Hall.[10] In the same cave there are inscriptions recording the gifts made by Svāmidatta, a goldsmith from Kalyañ, and Punarvasū, the son of a trader named Chit from Kalyāṇ.[11] In cave no 7 we come across the gift by merchant Svāmika from Sopāra and by Sulasadatta, a goldsmith from Cheul.[12] According to another inscription Punaka a trader from Sopāra had constructed a great water reservoir through which the monastery of Kaṇhēri and neighbouring area received water.[13]

Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi was the last great ruler of the Sātavāhana family. He paid special attention for the uplift of Kaṇhēri-vihāra. This is witnessed by his own inscription in the Chaitya cave no 3. It is the best rock-cut cave at Kaṇhēri and was completed during his reign. This inscription records that two merchant brothers named Gajasēna and Gajamitra had excavated this Chaitya cave. Another trader named Aparenu had also contributed for the excavation of this cave. In this way the Buddhist vihāras at Kaṇhēri flourished rapidly during the Sātavāhana period.

From the inscriptions we also come to know about the monastic activity of this place. For example Yajñasrī Śātakarṇi's inscription referred to above mentions the names of Buddhist monks who had settled at this Vihāra. Among these, the name of *Bhadant* Achala is very important because he has been referred to

by Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang,[15] also as *Bhadant* Achala was one of the chief Āchāryas of the Kaṇhēri vihāra. He was also an expert architect because the inscription says that he had supervised the excavation of the Chaitya caves. Recently a scholar has pointed out that this *Bhaṅdant* Achala had excavated the rock-cut caves at Ajanta also.[16] Besides the inscription has mentioned the names of the Āchāryas at Kaṇhēri such as *Bhadant* Gahal, *Bhadant* Vijayamitra, *Bhadant* Bodhika and *Bhadant* Dharmapal.

The inscription also mentione the names of the architects, overseers, stone-masons, artisans and stone polishers; these workers work under the supervision of a supervisor who was designated as *Nava-Karmika.*[17]

During those days different sects had appeared in the Buddhist religion.[18] From the inscriptions we come to know that the monks at Kaṇhēri were the followers of the Bhadrāyanīya sect.[19] Thus it can be said that under the Sātavāhanas Kaṇhēri attained the status of the chief Buddhist centre in this region. Naturally, a large number of lay followers visited the monastery whose names have been mentioned in the inscriptions.

The Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas were the sucessors of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan. Under these dynasties also the Kaṇhēri-vihāra continued to flourish as earlier. Particularly the rule of the Traikūṭakas seems to have proved to be very important, because their capital Anirudhapuri was in Koṅkaṇ.[20] This Anirudhapuri has been identified with Puri or present Gharapuri near Bombay. A copper plate inscription of the Traikūṭakas was found at Kaṇhēri in the cave[21] no 3. According to this copper plate, Buddharuchi a resident of the village Kanaka included in the Sindhu-vishaya (Sindha Province of Western India) had constructed a brick-chaitya in the court yard of cave no 3. This chaitya was built on the relics of his guru (teacher). This evidence clearly shows that traders as well as lay worshipers continued to visit Kaṇhēri-vihāra in the 4th and 5th centuries of Christian era. This is further corroborated by another inscription in cave no 2 which mentions the names of a number of visitors such as Nanna Vaidya, Bhānu Bhāskara, Bhāravi, Chelladēva, Boppai, Bhaṭṭa Vesu, etc.[22] According to Dr. Shobhana Gokhale this Bhāravi was the same Sanskrit poet who has written 'Kirātārjunīyam[23]. If so, we have to accept that Kaṇhēri-vihāra was visited by Bhāravi who was regarded in the rank of great poet Kāḷidāsa.

During this period also the monastic activity at Kaṇhēri continued to grow more and more. As a result of this Buddhist teachers of high rank continued to stay at this, vihāra. This is evidenced by an inscription in cave no 3 which mentions the name of an ascetic as Śākya Buddhagōsha who was the guardian of great Gandhakuṭi[24] at Kaṇhēri. The same inscription further states that Buddhagōsha was a pupil of *Bhadanta* Dharmavatsa who was a teacher of the Tripiṭakas. Another inscription records the gift by Śākya monk Dharma Gupta.[25] It is interesting to note that Śākya means the person belonging to the

clan of Buddha. In an other inscription we come across the name of other teachers such as Buddharakshita.[26] These evidences leave no doubt that the large number of Buddhist monks continued to stay at Kaṇhēri and some of them even died at the place for whom special cemetary had been reserved. There are a large number of names of such monks who had died and in whose memory *stūpas* (epitaph) were constructed. On this *stūpa* (epitaph) the names of the monks had been engraved. For example we come across the name Thēra Ārya Vijayasēna who had been described as expert in *traividya*.[27] Another epitaph records the name of Arahat who is described as Pañchagikadhyāna meaning an expert of five branches of knowledge.[28] Names of Sthavira Ārya Mahana, *Bhadanta* Dama, Tilapalaka, Ārya Sanghananda and Arya Khema, etc. were also recorded on other epitaphs.[29] These monks were permanent settlers at Kaṇhēri and had a major contribution in the development in the monastry upto the end of the 7th century of Christian era.

At the middle of the 8th century A.D., the Rāshṭrakūṭas established their power in the Deccan. In the beginning the Koṇkan region was directly administrated by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. But the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha assigned this territory to the Śilāhāras who continued to govern it for the next five centuries.[30]

It is very interesting to note that the political upheavels did not affect the functioning of the Kaṇhēri-vihāra because every ruling dynasty of this area extended its patronage to this *Vihāra*. Kapardin II who was the third Śilāhāra king was one of such Śilāhāra patrons. His inscription dated 854 A.D. is found in cave no 11 at Kaṇhēri[31]. The object of the inscription is to record that during the reign of Kapardin II Gominvighnakara, a devout worshipper of Buddha who had hailed from Gauḍa country (Bengal) made a permanent endowment of 100 *drammas* for the construction of the meditation room for the monks who resided at the Mahārāja-mahāvihāra at Kṛishṇagiri (Kaṇhēri).

This inscription is very important because during the 9th century A.D. we come across the decline of Buddhism in other parts of India. But in the Koṅkaṇ region this religion continued to flourish. The Kaṇhēri-vihāra was upgraded and people from other parts of India continued to come towards Kaṇhēri.

Another inscription of this period, which is engraved in cave no 12 furnishes more interesting information. This inscription records that a person named Vishṇugupta made certain grants of money to the Kṛishṇagiri Mahārāja - mahāvihāra[32] for the worship of Buddha, the repair of vihāra, the clothing of the monks and the purchase of religious books. This information is important for many reasons. Firstly, it states that financial provision was made for the repairs of the vihāra. Some type of provision was made for their clothing and above all purchase of books. It shows that like Nālandā Buddhist monastery, the Kaṇhēri monastery also had its own library. It gives an idea as to how

Kaṇhēri continued to flourish more and more as an educational centre under the Śilāhāras. The same type of financial provision is recorded in another inscription in cave no 12[33]. In this way, we see that the rise of Śilāhāras proved to be more important for the development of the Kaṇhēri-vihāra. The Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇ patronized this monastery throughout their reign.

The Kaṇhēri monastery continued to attract the attention of even non-Buddhist foreigners. This is witnessed by four Pahalavi inscriptions belonging to 11th century which were engraved by the Parasis[34]. The Parasis had concentrated in this area right from the 8th century onwards.[35] They have recorded the gifts to this vihāra through these four inscriptions.

From the inscriptions it becomes clear that Kaṇhēri continued to flourish for nearly one thousand years starting from second century A.D.to the twelth century A.D. Besides the rock-cut caves, a large number of water cisterns were also excavated for the supply of drinking water. From the early Portuguese accounts we came to know that besides the rock-cut caves there were a large number of constructed buildings, palaces and houses.[36] From this decription it seems that a township had grown up in the vicinity of Kaṇhēri-vihāra. It is rather difficult to say when and how this vihāra disappeared. Since there are no inscriptions from 12th century onwards it can be said that the Muslim invasion probably caused for the set back of this Buddhist centre of the Deccan. This study is a cursory study. A detailed study of all the inscriptions and other sources will certainly enlighten us more about this Buddhist centre at Kaṇhēri.

Notes & References :

1. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale, *Kaṇhēri Inscriptions*, Pune, 90-91.
2. *Gazetteer of India*, Maharashtra State, Thane District, (Revised Edition) Bombay., 1982., p.51.
3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* , Vol. I, Aśoka's Edicts No. V and XIII.
4. Dr. B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1954, p.171.
5. *Thane District Gazetteer.*, op.cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Dr. Ambika Prasad Morarka, Studies in India's External Trade Relations During Ancient Times (with reference to Maharashtra), Ph.D. Thesis, submitted to the University of Bombay, 1989., p.276.
8. Ibid., Chapter-III.
9. Dr.Ambika Prasad Morarka, *op.cit.*, p. 38.
10. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale, *op.cit.*, Ins. No. 2.

11. Ibid., Ins.No. 3 and 4. .

12. Ibid., No. 18.

13. Ibid., p.16-17.

14. Ibid., No.5.

15. Dr. H.S. Thosar, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Mysore, 1992.,pp 79-85.

16. Ibid.

17. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale, *op.cit.*, p.30.

18. Dr.V.V.Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Sātavāhana and Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981, Inscription No.18.

19. Dr.Shobhana Gokhale, *op.cit.*, p.30.

20. Dr.H.S. Thosar, *J.E.S.I.* Vol.XVII., pp 21-28.

21. Dr.Shobhana Gokhale, *op.cit.*, Ins. No.14.

22. Ibid., Ins.No.1.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p.24.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., pp.24 and 56.

27. Ibid., p.111.

28. Ibid., pp.14 and 120.

29. Ibid.

30. Dr.V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VI, Inscriptions of Śilāhāras, Introduction.

31. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale., op.cit., Ins.No. 21.

32. Ibid., Ins. No.22.

33. Ibid., Ins. No.23.

34. Ibid., pp. 142 - 147.

35. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, Thane District

36. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale, *op.cit.*, pp.1 - 2.

18. INSCRIPTIONS OF NAWWĀB MUḤAMMAD ALĪ WĀLĀJĀH (1749-95 A.D.)

M.Ilyas Quddusi

In this paper, I propose to study eight Persian inscriptions of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh, ranging in their dates from A.H. 1173/1759-60 to A.H. 1210/1795 spanning 37 years, copied from six different places viz., Tiruchchirappalli (1), the district headquarters in Tamil Nadu; Chittoor (1), a district place in Andhra Pradesh; Tāḻaiyūttu (1), Pēṭṭai (2) and Tirunelveli (1) in Tirunelveli district, and Madras (2), the capital of Tamil Nadu. All the inscriptions are in the verse form except one (from Pēṭṭai) and likewise all are executed in the pleasant Nastalīq characters except one (from Tiruchchirapalli). Of the six monuments, the two mosques of the same name, Masjid-i-Wālājāhī, located at Pēṭṭai and Madras, bear a couple of Persian records, each. The epigraphs under study record the construction of both the religious and secular structures.

Following the Nawāit rule (1710-42 A.D.)[1] in the Carnātic, a new dynasty under Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān[2] Shahāmat Jang (1743-49 A.D.) came to power, popularly known as Wālājāhī (also called Anwarī) with its capital at Arcot. After a short rule, Anwaru'd-Dīn was killed in the battle of Ambur on 21 July 1749 at the age of 77 years.[3] Anwaru'd-Dīn left 5 sons and 7 daughters.[4]

Anwaru'd-Dīn had designated his third son Muḥammad Alī as successor, as he considered him most worthy and fittest to manage all affairs successfully.[5] Following the death of his father, Muḥammad Alī became the Nawwāb of Carnātic(Arcot) at the young age of 27[6] in A.H. 1162/1749. He received the titles Nawwāb Wālājāh, Amīrul Hind 'Umdatul Mulk Āṣafu'd-Daula, Muḥammad 'Alī Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ẓafar Jang Sipahsālār, Ṣāḥibu's-Saifwal-Qalam, Mudabbir-i-Umūr-i-'Ālam, Farzand-i-'Azīz-as-Jān, from the Mushal king ghāh 'Ālam II (1759-88 A.D.) and another title *Birādar ba-Jān Barābar* (brother as dear as life) from the mighty Hanover king George II or III (1727-1820 A.D.) of England. He was recognised by the two kings as the ruler of Carnātic.[7]

Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh ruled for 46 years (1749-95 A.D.) - the longest period among the Wālājāhī Nawwābs of Arcot. His regime was quite eventful as he was engaged in wars against the Marāṭhas, the French, Hyder'Alī and Ṭipū Sulṭān, receiving active support from the English and the Niẓām of Hyderabad. He was overburdened with heavy debts due to increasing expenses of his standing army. The English, his allies, cherished the ambition of taking the entire territory of Carnātic under their direct control. In the evening days of his rule, he even struck a note of caution of his eldest son Nawwāb 'Umdatul Umarā in dealing with the English and not to cause any indignation to them and rather keep with them the best cordial relations so as to perpetuate his independent rule in the region.[8] He expired in the 76th year of his age on 29 Rabī'I, A.H. 1210/13 October 1795 A.D. and lies buried at Tiruchchirappalli.[9]

Of the inscriptions of Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh, the earliest[10] in the group, comes from the main entrance of the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Naṭhar Shāh Walī at Tiruchchirappalli, recording the construction of the stone-canopy i.e. dome, over the grave of the saint by the Chief Queen (Begam-i-Khāṣṣ) of Sirāju'd Daula (Muḥammad 'Alī) in A.H. 1173/1759-60 A.D.

Here, in the inscription, the saint Naṭhar Shāh Walī[11] is referred to as *Sālār-i-Dīn* (i.e. leader of religion). He hailed from Constantinople and belonged to the ruling family there. His father's name was Sulṭān Sayyid Aḥmad Kabīr. He is said to have been one of the spiritual sucessors of *Shaikh Sh*ahābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (1145-1234 A.D.)[12]. It is said that *Shaikh* Naṭhar had already established Suhrawardiya Order before Madura was invaded by Malik Kāfūr in 1310 A.D.[13] Māmā Jaganī, reported to be the daughter of the then ruling monarch in the region, embraced Islam at his land and lies buried near him.[14] One of his disciples was Shaikh Bābā Fakhru'd-Dīn(d. 1295) who reached Penugoṇḍā in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh and made it a great centre of mystic activities.[15] Shaikh Naṭhar Walī breathing his last on 14 March 1275 A.D. (15 Ramaḍān A.H. 673).[16]

The Wālājāhī Nawwābs had great veneration for the saint Shaikh Naṭhar. Under Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Shahāmat Jang, when Muḥammad 'Alī was given the charge of the *sūba* of Trichchirappalli (Trichinopoly), he renamed the town as Naṭharnagar.[17] No less enthusiastic was the Chief Queen of Muḥammad 'Alī who got erected the dome of the saint out of profound reverence. In the epigraph, she is referred to as Begam-i-Khāṣṣ. Her original name was Khadīja Begam, addressed as Nawwāb Begam and popular as Begam Jān Maḥal Khāṣṣ. she was the daughter of Muḥammad Aḥsanu'd Dīn Khān of Gopāmau.[18] She was married to Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh in 1737 A.D. She bore him five sons and five daughters. Among the sons were 'Umdatul Umarā Ghulām Ḥusain (d. 1801), Muḥammad Munawwar (d. 1788), Muḥammad Anwar (d. 1804), Ghulām Ḥasan (d. 1829) and 'Abdul Quddūs (d. 1804), holding important posts under their father. Among the daughters were Motī Begam, Potī Begam, Sulṭānun-Nisā Begam (d. 1821 at Karbalā in Iraq), Daryā Begam (d. 1820) and Fatḥ Begam (d. 1812).[19] Begam Jān Maḥal Khāṣṣ, rather died early at the age of 39 on 9th October 1767 A.D. (15 Jumādā I, A.H. 1181) as she was suffering from diarrhoea and severe fever.[20] She lies buried near the tomb of Shaikh Naṭhar Walī.

Begam Jān Maḥal Khāṣṣ predeceased her husband Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh by over a quarter century. The Nawwāb cherished his burial at Mecca near the holy Ka'ba. In case this was not possible, he desired Naṭharnagar as his last resting-place near the holy shrine as his queen also occupied the blessed precinct. This, he had commanded his successor-son 'Umdatul Umarā by will at the death-bed. And the second alternative was translated into action.[21]

Next inscription from Chittoor[22] in a local mosque, records that the tomb of Mīrān Majīd, the martyr, was erected through the efforts of Bāsiṭ and *Gh*ālib, when Chittūr was held in *jāgīr* by 'Abdus Ṣamad, during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī in A.H. 1191/1777 A.D. This inscription is informative as it provides certain names of the region under the Wālājāhī

rule and throws light on the regional history.

Four inscriptions (3rd to 6th) in the group, come from Tirunelveli district. An inscription from Tāḻaiyūttu,[23] copied from *Shādī Khān's* Chhatram, records the construction of two *sarāis* (inns) by I'tibār Khān in A.H. 1200/1785-86. In three more inscriptions also, we find the mention of Muḥammad I'tibār *Khān* Bahādur who built the Masjid-i-Wālājāhī, under the supervision of his subordinate Salāmu'llāh, at Pēṭṭai[24] in A.H. 1201/1786-87 A.D. at the command of Amīrul Umarā Wālājāh, i.e. Muḥammad 'Alī. At Tirunelveli[25] also, I'tibār Khān built a mosque in A.H. 1202/1887-88 A.D. at the behest of 'Umdatul Mulk Amīr-i-A'ẓam (Muḥammad 'Alī). I'tibār Khān had been an important official, posted in the region as Nawwāb's agent and probably belonged to the ruling class as his full name Muḥammad I'tibār *Khān* Bahādur suggests.

The 7th and the 8th inscriptions[26] from Madras belong to the Masjid-i-Wālājāhī, built by Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī, referred to in the inscriptions as Amīrul Hind Wālājāh and *Sh*ah-i-Dīnparwar. The two dates A.H. 1209/1794-95 A.D. and A.H. 1210/1795 A.D. obviously refer to the foundation and completion of the said mosque.

Sufficient information is available about the personages *Shaikh* Naṯhar Walī and the queen Begam Jān Maḥal Khāṣṣ in the literary sources. But other names : Mīrān Majīd, the martyr, 'Abdus Ṣamad, the *Jāgīrdār*, Bāsiṯ, Ghālib, and Muḥammad ṣalāmullāh, occurring in the inscriptions under perusal, could not be identified in the limited works under disposal here. Even the attempt made on some of the Wālājāhī works, *Ruqa'at-i-Wālājāhī*[27] (c.1773-74), *Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī* (c. 1781), *Bahār-e-A ' ẓamjāhī* (c. 1823) and *Sawāniḥāt-e-Mumtāz* (c.1837) proved abortive. Untapped records might be helpful in future for their proper identification, or otherwise these epigraphical evidences themselves will constitute the primary source for them.

Notes and References :

1. Under Nawāit rule in the Carnāṭic, there were three rulers : Sa'ādatullāh Khān (1710-32), Dost 'Alī Khān (1732-40) and Ṣafdar 'Alī (1740-42). Md. Yousuf Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic* (Madras, 1974), pp.12-13.

2. *Nawwāb* Anwaru'ddīn *Khān* was born at Gopāmau in Hardoi district of U.P. in c. A.H. 1085/1674. Earlier, he served as governor of Surat, Sikākul and Rājamundhry. Nawwāb Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣaf Jān I had great confidence in him and bestowed on him the governorship of Arcot in 1743 A.D. Burhān Ibn Ḥasan, *Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī*, Eng.tr., M. Husayn Nainār, pt I. (Madras, 1934), pp 51-57; Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.86.

3. Burhān Ibn Ḥasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 144-47.

4. Eldest son Badrul Islām, second son Md. Maḥfūẓ and 4 daughters from his wife Bībī Ṣāḥiba who hailed from Gopāmau; third son muḥammad 'Alī from his wife Fa*kh*run-Nisā Begam who came from a noble family of Hyderabad; fourth son 'Abdul Wahhāb and 2 daughters Amīra Begam and Kumū Begam from another wife; fifth son Najībullāh was the only child of another wife, and there was a 7th daughter by another wife. Burhān Ibn Ḥasan, *op.cit.*, pp30-31; Md. Karīm *Khairu'd-Dīn* Ḥasan, *Sawāniḥāt-e-Mumtāz*, ed. Ḥabīb *Khān* Sarūsh (Madras, 1961),pp.264-65.

5. Burhān Ibn Ḥasan, *op.cit.*, pp.127-31.
6. Muḥammad 'Alī was born at Delhi on 14 *Shawwāl* A.H. 1135/7 July 1723. Md. Yusuf Kokan, op.cit., p.90.
7. Burhān Ibn Ḥasan, *op.cit.*, p.30.
8. Md. Karīm Khairu'd-Dīn, *op.cit.*, pp.40-41.
9. *ibid.*, pp.39, 44-45.
10. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1963-64, D 167.
11. Hārūn Khān Sherwānī gives his name as Bābā Fa*kh*ru'd-Dīn Hazrat Nathar Walī *Medieval India - a Miscellany*, Vol.Four,1977 , p.141); Yousuf Kokan, as Shaikh Nathar Awliyā (op.cit., p.2); 'Abdul Jabbār Malkāpūrī calls him Sayyid Sulṭān Maẓhar Walī (Tadhkira-i-Auliyā-i-*Dakan* Hyderabad, A.H. 1332(1914 A.D.), p.394; W.Francis & others give him name as Nādir Shāh Auliyā(*Gazetteer of South India.)* Vol.II, Delhi, 1988, p.206); *Gh*ulām 'Abdul Qādir records his name as Sayyid Bābā Muṭahharu'd-Dīn Sarmast Ṭabl-i-'Ālam (Bahār-e-A'ẓamjāhī) Madras, 1961, p.77). Another inscription at the gate of the tomb records his name as Walī Naṭhar (*AREp.*, 1963-64, D 168)
12. *Gh*ulām 'Abdul Qādir ,*op.cit.*, p.78.
13. Md. Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.2.
14. *Gh*ulām 'Abdul Qādir, *op.cit.*, p. 79. According to 'Abdul Jabbār Malkāpūrī, Māmā Jaganī was the daughter of the saint (*op.cit.*, pp.397-98)
15. *AREp.*, 1966-67, D 1 & 3; Md. Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.2.
16. *Gh*ulām 'Abdul Qādir, *op.cit.*, p.78; another date of his death is 19 Sep. 1225 A.D. (14 Ramaḍān A.H. 622) according to Imāmu'd Dīn (Barakātul Auliyā, Delhi, A.H. 1322, p.8)
17. Burhān Ibn Ḥasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 131-32.
18. Md. Karīm *Kh*airu'd Dīn, *op.cit.*, p. 265.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-69.
20. *Ibid.*, p.265.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
22. *AREp.*, 1978-79, D 1.
23. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 171.
24. *Ibid.*, D 169-70.
25. *Ibid.*, D 172.
26. Bishop R. Caldwell, A History of Tinnevelly (Rep.N. Delhi, 1982), p. 157.
27. *AREp.*, 1961-62, D 107-08.
28. It is edited by T.Chandrasekharan, Madras, 1958.

19. INSCRIPTIONS IN CHANDALA FOREST

Bhagyashree Kale

Vidarbha has a rich cultural heritage and abundant archaeological monuments. Temples of Vākāṭaka period to Hēmāḍpanti style, the icons and images from Śuṅga, Sātavāhana to Kalachuri period, massive and mighty forts of Goṇḍa and Bhonsale kings so also the distinct icons from the Vidarbha region are also always challenging to the scholars of the country.

There are some rock-cut caves in Vidarbha region. The important among them are those at Bhadrāvati, Pullar, Jagankupi, Satbahini, Mohali, Deoli, Pimpardol, Chapegadi and Patur. The purpose of excavating these caves could have been known only when inscriptions were found there. It is surprising that excepting the caves in Chaṇḍala forest, remarkable inscriptions were not found.

Chaṇḍala forest is 55 kms. to the South-West of Nagpur. It is approachable from Pullar. The caves under the present study are situated in the deep forest at present and are on the hillocks, facing east. The cave bearing the inscriptions is in the most dilapidated condition. Its stone walls are lying helter skelter, braving the vagaries of the nature. Quite a few stones having inscriptions of this cave attract the attention.

One such inscription is as under : -

1) *[Va] sava dalaka putasa*
2) *Achaḷasa mati kamaṁ* [||]

The type of stones is typical basalt of the Deccan trap. After polishing the stone, the matter was inscribed. Seventeen alphabets and two anusvāras are adjusted in the space of eleven inches by twentyeight inches (27 cms × 70 cms) Each alphabet is the size of cms 7. All these alphabets are meticulously inscribed and are very clear. The script is without any ornamentation. It is very simple and attractive. There is even space provided between two alphabets. The palaeographical features indicate, according to Dr.S.B.Deo, former director of Deccan College Research Institute, that the inscription belongs to third century B.C.

One more equally important inscription is identified near the said stone wall. Only four alphabets are inscribed here. The reading is as under : -

1) Ōkiyasa

The alphabets measure 5cms in height and are adjusted in the space of 10" (25 cms). The word ōkiyasa might be the name of a person. It may be of a later period could be stated from the palaeographical features as suggested by Dr.S.B.Deo. These alphabets are also in the Brāhmī script without ornamentation. Though they are carved on the similar type of polished stone, they are not artistically inscribed, nor are they in one line. Space between two alphabets is also uneven.

Yet another inscription is seen on the piece of a broken stone, on the same site. But it is not in the state of decipherment

due to weathering.

The characteristic feature of the Vidarbha caves is that one does not find any religious motif, paintings or sculptures, except in Bhadrāvati. In general, they are very compact comprising of only two chambers. Their situation is indeed very ideal as they are very near to the perenial water source. However, they are so small in size that they could not have been used for dwelling. No separate arrangements are made for living and cooking, nor are there stone-beds. No provision is made to offer prayers or daily oblations. Therefore, the purpose of these caves is only for overnight stay by the travellers. Dr.S.B.Deo has suggested that these caves are very near to Pauni stūpas and were the resting places of the Hīnayāni Buddhist monks.

Evidently, there must be a trade-route on which these caves are situated. Various caves in Vidarbha are located near the very flourishing cities of the ancient period such as Adam, Bhadrāvati, Pauni, Vatsagulma, Pravarpura and so on.

Inscriptions in the Chaṇḍala forest point out that they are secular in nature as the caves are. They only state the name of their carver. It must be emphasized that the rock-cut caves need not necessarily belong to any religion. So also the inscriptions on it need not necessarily be in praise of any deity or kind. They however, help to determine the social and economic activities of the concerned period.

Notes & References :

1) Dr.S.B.Deo, Mandhalajavalila Lekhayutta Prachina Lene, *Vidarbha Saṁshōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika* - 1971. Nagpur.

2) Dr.C.S.Gupta, Chandala Rock Inscriptions, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. 2,1976,ed. Z.A. Desai and Ajay Mitra Shastri.

20. TWO ĀDIL SHĀHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM HONNĀLI

M.Y. Quddusi

Honnāli is the taluk headquarters in Shimoga District of Karnataka State. Sometime back during my official visit, I came to know about two loose inscriptional slabs lying in the compound of the Jāmi mosque at Honnāli.[1] I was informed that the inscriptional slabs had been brought from a ruined mosque, lying loose there also. On examination, it was found that the two epigraphs belong to the period of the 'Ādil Shāhis of Bijapur.

The first epigraphical tablet[2] which is fragmentary, contains only the last couplet of the main text in Persian executed in Naskh characters, read as under :

Text

(i) ..... Shāh 'Alī binā Kard burj (ii)..... Tauqīr Khān tārīkh sana sittīn wa alf. i.e...... Shāh 'Alī constructed the bastion. Tauqīr Khān in the year, one thousand & sixty (A.H. 1060 = 1649-50 A.D.)

This epigraph under study thus provides a piece of information regarding the construction of a bastion in A.H. 1060 (words) = 1649-50 A.D. by Tauqīr Khān. The date of the inscription falls under Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (1627-1656 A.D.).

The other inscription[3] is quite interesting and informative. The text in Persian verse and executed in bold Naskh characters, runs into eleven lines. The background of the text also contains pleasant floral designs. Historically speaking, it contains that Honnāli was granted to Diyānat Rao by Sikandar Shāh where Govind Rao built the bastions and designated them as "Diyanat Burūj". Their construction work began on Ramaḍān 30, (Shuhur year) 1073 and completed on Muḥarram 10 (1673 A.D., January 9 to April 17). The text has been deciphered as under :

(1) Allāh
(2) Basmala
(3) Karīmā 'atā Kard mulk-i-Dakhan
(4) Ke Sulṭān Sikandar buwad Shāh-i-man
(5) za Bakhshish-i-shāhī 'aṭā Hoyanhallī
(6) shud bar Diyānat Rāo nik-dili
(7) Govind Rāo Kard and banān-i-īn burūj
(8) Shurū 'Salkh Ramaḍān Diyānat burūj
(9) batārīkh-i-'Āshūr waqt-i-Khalaf
(10) Sana būd thalth sab 'īn-u-alaf
(11) Sana 1073 *Translation*

(1) Allāh (2) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 93-4) O merciful (you) gifted the country of Dakhan (to) Sulṭān Sikandar who is my king. (5-6) By the royal dignity, Hoyanhallī was granted to the kind hearted Diyānat Rao.

(7-8)Govind Rao constructed these bastions, designating them as "Diyānat burūj" (which) began on the last day of Ramaḍān,

(9-10) completed on the tenth day of Muḥarram, the year being one thousand & seventy three.

(11) year (Shuhur) 1073 = 1673 A.D.,

January 9 to April 7.

The construction of the bastions, referred to in the above records, tends to suggest that when the 'Ādil Shāhīs got control over Honnāli and adjoining areas, they consolidated their hold on them. Either they thoroughly repaired the old fort at Honnāli or butressed it with new additions of the bastions. It is also possible that enclosure walls of the city might have been built with bastions for overall safety of the place as the region had been forcibly acquired from the rulers of Ikkēri.[4]

Another aspect of the inscription dated 1673 A.D. is that we come to know about the place which was granted to Diyānat Rao. No other record or source, available to us, provides this information that Honnāli was granted to him. From other sources, we have some information, regarding his activities under Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh. It is stated that he was the confident adviser of Khwaṣṣ Khān (Regent at Bijapur Court). He also held high position among the nobles of Bijapur kingdom. But he is credited for creating dissensions between Khwāṣṣ Khān and Bahlūl Khān, commandant of Bijapur army. This led to the arrest of Khwaṣṣ Khān and Diyānat Rao by the partisans of Bahlūl Khān in 1675 A.D.[5] Unfortunately, no information is available about Govind Rao under whose supervision the bastions were completed. It seems that he was posted at Honnāli who looked after the interests of his master Diyānat Rao and carried out administrative responsibilities.

It is also to be noted that Honnālī finds mention as Hoyanhalli as pronounced during the 'Ādil Shāhī period.[6]

In conclusion, we may say that the above two inscriptions are quite important for the regional history and particularly for Honnāli, before it became a part of the Mughal empire, under Aurangzeb in 1686 A.D.

Notes & References

1. Inscriptions listed in A.R.Ep; 1988-89.
2. *Ibid.*, Appendix C No.135.
3. *Ibid.*, No.134.
4. See for details *Shimoga District (Karnataka State Gazetteer*, Bangalore, 1975, pp.64-67. 642 and M.A. Nayeem, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom* (Hyderabad, 1974), pp. 126-131.
5. Bhimsen's *Tarikh-i-Dikasha* (Eng. tr., edited by Khobrekar V.G., Bombay, 1972) pp. 104-05.
6. It has been called as Bidiri, Suvarnali, Honnahalli, Hoonarali etc., See for details *Shimoga District Gazetteer*, p.642.

21. DISCOVERING BHAVADATTA

Amarendra Nath

More often than not the primary and secondary sources have revealed *datta* ending names. In this connection generally the attention is drawn immediately to local Datta kings of the Mathura region having m datta ending names. Generally the numismatists have considered them as successors of the local Mitra kings and it has been corroborated by the archaeological stratigraphy preceding Kushāṇa levels at Soṅkh.[1] The objective here, however, is not to elaborate the Datta geneology or draw any inventory of such names but to evalute a *datta* ending name occuring on a clay sealing reported from the Śātavāhana levels at Adam ($21^0 00^1 N, 78^0 39^1 E$), Kuhi Taluk, Nagpur District.[2]

The clay sealing in question (Regd. No. ADM - 1439) has been reported from the trench A1/3 laid almost in the centre of the mound enclosed by a rampart (P1.I). It is prepared out of medium coarse fabric in planoconical shape. Its firing under reducing condition has made it black in appearance. The finger marks are noticed all over the conical surface. The partially damaged flan of the sealing bears a single lined Prākṛit legend across the circular incuse (Dia. 15mm) The legend consists of four nail - headed Brāhmī characters and reads *Bhavadata* i.e. "(the sealing of) Bhavadatta".[3]

The language of the legend is left without case ending. Such type of legends generally occur on private seals bearing the names of the owners alone.[4] All the four characters, namely, *bha* with a straight vertical on the right, *va* with a triangular base surmounting a conical serif, *da* with angular back and mouth open to right end, and short curved *ta* with a short conical head show bold palaeographical features of circa 1st - 2nd century A.D. With regard to orthography it may be noted here that the doubling of consonant *ta* has not been observed. It may not be out of place to mention that the Prākṛitised form of Bhavadatta has been mentioned as Bhavattva[5] hence doubling of *ta* becomes all the more important.[6]

The sealing in question bears a couple of signs of great relevance. Towards the upper left flan, above the first letter *bha*, is a sign of stylised kettle drum (*ḍamaru*) - a percussion musical instrument generally seen as one of the attributes in the hands of Lord Śiva.

Likewise, in the lower left exergue, below the same character, is seen taurine (*nandipāda*) another sign associated with lord Śiva. (Fig.1) It is quite apparent that the seal engraver executed the work in great reverence to his master whereby he was guided by the divine appelation of Bhavadatta which stimumated him to draw esoteric reflexes in the form of the above noted signs, complimenting the inherent meaning of the owner's name as well as his belief. Almost similar observation may be made when a sealing from Rājghāṭ is examined. It represents on one side in the upper segment a liṅga affixed to *yōnīpiṭha* and in the lower segment a legend reading *datta - bhava*.[7]

Etymologically, *bhava* stands for coming into existence while *datta* for protected or honoured ones. In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, *Bhava* denotes *Agni* while in Bhavishya Purāṇa[8] and in a number of epigraphical sources it is identified with Lord Śiva.[9] Thereby the combination of legend and symbology is quite meaningful.

The absence of usual tying mark at the back of sealing negates its use in knotting the consignment. However, its use as token of identification for the possessor sound reasonable. It was recovered from the Śātavāhana horizon when the site was witnessing brisk trading activities and in the process enticing merchants or their agents from other important marts of both upper and peninsular India.[10] Ultimately associating Bhavadatta to a particular mart remains unresolved yet, the nomenclature tends to suggest an upper Indian origin.

Notes and References

1. Herbert Härtel, "Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh A preliminary report", *German Scholars on India*, Vol.II, edited by the Cultural Department of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi, Bombay, 1976, pp.69 - 99.

2. For archaeological chronology of the site refers author's "Adam - An index to Vidarbha Archaeology", New treads in Indian Art and Archaeology; S.R.Rao's 70th birthday Felicitation Volume (ed.) B.U. Nayak and N.C. Ghosh, New Delhi, 1992, pp.69 - 79.

3. Earlier this sealing was read differently in kind consultation with Prof.Mitra Shastri of Nagpur University, Nagpur which is now corrected as above.

4. Bhita has reported a few private sealings wherein Bhadraka, Padmanābha and Aryarakshita etc. occur without case ending, refer J.H. Marshall, "Excavations at Bhita", Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report", 1911 - 12, Calcutta, 1915, pp.57 - 58.

5. Y.R. Gupte, "Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarmman", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.XIX, Pt.III, 1927, p.101.

6. It may not be mistaken with *bhadata* of Bharhut inscriptions, as it stands for *bhadaṁta*, refer H.Luders, "Bharhut Inscriptions", *Corpus Inscriptionum Incicarum*, Vol.II, Pt.II, Octacamund, 1963, inscription numbers : A 39 (789), A 64 (850), A 58 (792), A 65 (766), A 66 (768), A 41 (858).

7. Thaplyal Kiran Kumar, *Studies in Ancient Indian seals*, Lucknow, 1972, p.154, P1.XVII - 3.

8. Monier - Williams, *A Sanskrit - English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p.749.

9. See index volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* for detailed referencing.

10. Some reflexes on its trading activities have been in author's paper entitled "Antiquities of Graeco-Roman Affinity from Adam : An inland mart of Central India", *East and West* (under publication either in 1994 or 1995 issue).

22. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PACHCHIL KURRAM AS GLEANED FROM INSCRIPTIONS

L. Thyagarajan

The object of the paper is to study the historical geography of Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam as gleaned from inscriptions. Pāchchil Kūṟṟam is one of the ancient Nāḍu units which existed on the northern bank of the Koḷḷiḍam river. Though Pāchchil's antiquity dates back to the 6th century A.D. and numerous inscriptions speak about it, no concrete attempt has so far been made to unravel this Nāḍu region compeletely.[1] Hence this paper proposes to study its historical geography, locate its capital, identify the various villages which remained under this Nāḍu unit, to ascertain its extent with its border Nāḍu and to spot the same on modern map.[2]

Sources

Literature and epigraphs form the main sources of this study. The Hymns of Ayyaḍigaḷ Kāḍvarkoṉ, Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Sēkkiḻār's work are the literary sources which mention about the place Pāchchil and its religious significance. On the other hand about 160 inscriptions (of which 1 record belongs to the Pallava period, 104 belong to the Chōḷa, 11 Hoysala, 16 Pāṇḍya, 3 Kēraḷa king Ravivarmaṉ, 25 Vijayanagar period) give ample evidence about this Nāḍu unit.[3]

Antiquity of the Place Name PĀCHCHI

Ayyaḍigaḷ-kādavarkoṉ in this *kshētra veṉba* mentions this place and a Śiva temple therein as Pāchchil Tiruvāsiramam.[4] Since the saint has been identified with the Pallava king Siṁhavarman III (540 - 558)[5], the date of the place goes back to the 6th century A.D. Besides Appar and Sambandar who lived in the 7th century, Sundarar (the 8th century A.D.) also mentions the above place.[6] Of the inscriptions, a 20th year (A.D.866) record of Nandivarman III, which is also the earliest inscriptional evidence, mentions the place Pāchchil. Besides two records of Parāntaka I dated in A.D. 919 and 942 mention the place as Pāchchil and Maḻanāṭṭu Pāchchil.[7] Maḻavas were one of the warrior clans of the Saṅgam period and the region where they lived too called in Pallava and Choḷa periods as Maḻanāḍu. Since Pāchchil is located in this Maḻānāḍu region the antiquity of the place goes back to the Saṅgam period. The last inscription which mentions the name Pāchchil is dated in 1544 A.D.[8] After this date we do not come across the name in any record.

PACHCHIL AS THE CAPITAL OF THE NADU UNIT

Though the place existed from the 6th century A.D. we do not know whether it became the headquarters of the Nāḍu unit of the same name during the Pallava period or not However, from the hymns of Sambandar and the *Periya Puranam* of Sekkiḻār we are informed that Pachchil was the royal seat of a Maḻava chief.[9] But his identify is not known from epigraphs. On the other hand the place became the capital of the nāḍu unit during the early Chola period itself. An inscription of Parāntaka I dated in 942 mentions Turaiyūr as a village in Maḻanāṭṭu Pachchil kūṟṟam.[10] From this period onwards the place remained in the same status. The

last record which mentions the Nāḍu unit is dated in 1544 A.D.[11] Though Nāḍu as a revenue unit lost its significance after the Chōḷas, the term kūṟṟam continued to remain in usage till the middle of the 16th century A.D.

Identifying the Capital

At present no place exists in the Chōḷa country with the name Pāchchil. With the help of inscriptions we can easily identify the place. There are two villages called Gōpurappaṭṭi and Tiruvāśi in Lalgudi taluk, Tiruchi District. They are situated close to each other on the Northern bank of the Koḷḷiḍam river on the Tiruchi - Musiri highway.[12] Two Śiva temples called Mēṟṟaḷi Īśar and Amalīśar and one Vishṇu temple called Ādhinārāyaṇaperumāḷ are located at Gōpurappaṭṭi. These temples contain 13, 7 and 4 inscriptions respectively.[13] Another Śiva temple with 29 inscriptions is located at Thiruvāśi.[14] These temple inscriptions mention the place as Pāchchil and the temples as Pāchchil Thirumēṟṟali[15], Pāchchil Tiruvamalīśvaram[16], Pāchchil Ādhināyagaperumal[17] and Pāchchil Tiruvāsiramam[16]. But now the place name Pāchchil disappeared and the village split into two parts. The sāttlement which sprang up around the temple Tiruvāsiramam came to the called as Tiruvāśi. The other part of the place where the three temple exist came to be called first as Kōvilpaṭṭi (in 1930) and now as Gōpurappaṭṭi.

Thus the modern Tiruvāśi and Gop̄urappaṭṭi villages together occupy the ancient place Pāchchil.

Pachchil - A mercantile city

In addition to the status of being the headquarters of the Nāḍu unit, Pāchchil became a flourishing mercantile town from the 13th century A.D.[18] A 27th year record of Rājarāja III calls this place as Vāṇigagrāmam.[19] The same is referred to in a 34th year record (1302 A.D.) of Māṟavarmaṉ Kulaśēkara Pāṇḍya I[20]. A record of Vijayanagar period dated in 1499 A.D. calls this place as Pāchchilpura Rathnapuri alias Periya Pudukkaḍai.[21] Another record which can be assigned to the same period (Vijayanagar) calls this place as Talaikkāvēri Pūmpaṭṭiṉam alias Nagaram Pāchchil.[22]

Pāchchil kūṟṟam and Vaḷanāḍu system

Following the introduction of Vaḷanāḍu set up by Rājarāja I Pāchchil Kūṟṟam came into the fold of Rājāśraya I. Pāchchil kūṟṟam came into the fold of Rājāśraya-vaḷanāḍu in 1006 A.D.[23] But this name underwent changes during later periods as Vīrarājēndra Vaḷanāḍu (1068 A.D.)[24], Kulothungachola Valanadu (in 1094 A.D.)[25] Tyagavalli - valanadu (1097 A.D.)[26], Ulagamulududai valanadu 27, Dinachintāmaṇi Vaḷanāḍu (1070 - 1120)[28], Thriubuvana muḷuduḍai vaḷanāḍu (1130 A.D.)[29] and lastly Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu (1172 A.D.)[30] The last name remained till the end of the Chōḷa period and even continue to be mentioned in the records up to the 16th century A.D.[31] When the Vijayanagar rulers introduced uchāvaḍi set up this region came under Tiruchchirappalli Uchāvaḍi in 1420 A.D.[32] and the name remained in usage till 1601 A.D.[33]

Geography of Pāchchil Kūṟṟam (See Appendix List)

From epigraphs we are able to know about 65 villages which were included

in this Nāḍu unit. The following table would show that the geographical spread of the Nāḍu grew gradually and reached its maximum limit towards the end of the 13th century A.D.

Period Centu-ries A.D.	Number of Settlements	Dynasty wise	(From Inscriptions)
6-9	1	Pallava	1
10	6	Chōḷa	
11	15	Period I(850 - 985)	3
12	8	Period II (985 - 1070)	17
13	27	Period III (1070 - 1166)	4
14	1	Period IV (1166 - 1279)	32
15	4	Pāṇḍyas (1250 - 1370)	1
16	2	Vijayanagar	
17	NIL	(1371 - 1750)	7
18	1		
	65		65

Of the 65 villages the identity of 15 villages is not traceable and the rest of the places can be located on a modern map. As such the total extent of the nāḍu at the end of the 13th century A.D. was approximately 100 sq. miles. At present this area includes 25 other villages in addition to the above 65 villages. Perhaps these 25 places came into existence in the post Vijayanagar period.

Border Nadus (See the Map)

By locating the villages properly on the modern map and with the help of the places of the adjacent Nāḍu units, we can get the Nāḍus which stood on the borders of Pāchchil kūṟṟam. Accordingly the river Koḷḷiḍam formed the southern border, while Vaḍavaḷi-Nāḍu (Choḷānganallur, Chittāmbūr, Tiruppaiṅgaḷi, Neyveli, Cheṭṭimaṅgalam) stood on the northern side. While Ānmūr-Nāḍu (Kallūr, Āmur) stood on the west, Kalar-kūṟṟam (Nagar, stood on the eastern side.

Factors which led to the growth of settlements.

We may suggest the following factors for the growth of the settlements included in Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam. Religion is the most important factor behind the growth of settlements. The construction of temples in a particular place led to the growth of a village. Lands or villages granted as Dēvadāna and Brahmadēya respectively for the maintenance of the temple and the priestly class (Brāhmaṇas) led to the development of settlements. We get about 27 villages under this category. Of them 8 villages were granted as dēvadāna to the Thañjāvūr temple by Rājarāja I.[34] Another factor seems to be the granting of lands or villages to the government officials by the kings for their services. Chōḷa records refer to these officers as kaṇiyaḷar with the titles of Uḍaiyān, Kiḻān, Kōṉ and Mūvēndavēḷān. From the records we come to know that most of the villages in Pāchchil-kūṟṟam were owned by this kind of kāṇiyāḷars.[35] The political activity of the ruling dynasty in a region may be another factor for the growth of settlements. For example, Pāchchūr a military camp[36] and Kaṇṇaṉūr was the capital of the Hoysaḷa kings during the 13th century A.D.[37] Finally the fertility of soil and perennial water facilities also served as the basis for the growth of settlements in a region. Pāchchil-kūṟṟam is located on the banks of the Koḷḷiḍam river and this natural resource may be the most influential factor for the growth of villages in this region.

Notes and References

1. Dr. Y.Subbarayalu has made an attempt to study this nadu briefly in his Political Geography of the Chōḷa country 1973, and located 15 villages of this Nāḍu unit.

2. One inch = One mile survey map is used for this purpose.

3. Of them 24 records are available in Gōpurappaṭṭi village and 29 in Tiruvāśi village. Except three, the rest of the records in Gōpurappaṭṭi are not reported. The three inscriptions are reported in Indian Archaeology a Review 1970 - 71 of the records of Tiruvāśi only 16 have been copied by the ASI. I have copied all the records and informed about them to ASI.

4. *Tiruppachilachchirama Kōyil varalāṟu*, p.48

5. T.V. Mahalingam, Inscriptions of the Pallavas, p.LVI

6. *Tiruppāchilachchirama Kōyil Varalāṟu*, pp 41 - 48

6a. NDI, Gōpurappaṭṭi. But the script of the record is not in original Pallava character and seems to have been reengraved during late Chōḷa period.

7. A.R.Ep., 342 of 72 - 73, 98 of 28 - 29

8. A.R.Ep., 342 of 53 - 54

9. *Tiruppachilachchirama Kōyil Varalāṟu*, pp.41 - 48

10. A.R.Ep., 98 of 28 - 29

11. Ibid., 353 of 53 - 54

12. See Map

13. Of the temples, two Śiva temples are under the control of state Department of Archaeology. The Vishṇu temple is a deserted temple.

14. See Note No:3.

15. Parentaka I 35th year, New Inscription, Tirumāṟaḷi.

16. Uttamchōḷa - 12th year - Indian Archaeology - A Review 1970 - 71.

17. New Inscription, Kulaśēkara Pāṇḍya I 34th year - Adinārāyaṇa - perumāḷ temple, Gōpurapaṭṭi. But this temple was already in existence during Pallava period is proved by a Vishṇu sculpture here. But later the temple was renovated during the Pāṇḍya period.

18. A.R.Ep., 342 of 72 - 73.

18a. Pāchchil is referred to in the Nandivarman record as *nagaram*. After this record we get no reference about the *nagaram* till 13th century A.D.

19. Āvaṇam - Vol. II.p.46

20. See Note.17.

21. New Inscription - Ādinārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple - Gōpurappaṭṭi. The year falls during the period of Narasanāyakka of Vijayanagar.

22. Ibid.

23. Rājarāja I 21st year, New Inscriptions Gōpurappaṭṭi, Tiruvāśi.

24. A.R.Ep., 82 of 1892.

25. A.R.Ep., 132 of 38 - 39.

26. Ibid., 346 of 72 - 73, But in A.R.Ep., it has been read as Tyagavinoda - vaḷanādu.

27. Ibid., 117 of 47 - 48.

28. New Inscription Tiruvāśi, Kulōttuṅga I, year lost.

29. A.R.Ep., 510 OF 1912.

30. Ibid., 692 of 62 - 63.

31. Ibid., 353 of 53 - 54.

32. Ibid., 352 of 53 - 54.

33. Ibid., 164 of 36 - 37

34. See the Appendix List

35. A.R.Ep., 18, 23 of 1891, 61, 65 of 1903, 32 - 37 of 1937 - 38

36. Ibid., 142 of 1902.

37. Ibid., 18 of 1891.

PLACES UNDER PĀCHCHIL-KŪṞṞAM-As gleaned From Inscriptions

Sl. No.	Name in Inscription	Earliest Reference A.D.	Present Name	Reference	Map Code No.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Pachchil - Tirumaṟali (T.S.)	866	Tiruvāśi - Gōpurapaṭṭi	NDI - Gopurappatti	
1a.	Pachchil Thiruvasiramam (T.S.) (H.Q.)	919	Tiruvāsi - Gopurappaṭṭi	342/1972 - 73	
2.	Tuṟaiyūr (Kilpilaru)	942	Tuṟaiyūr	98/28 - 29	
3.	Narkuppai (D)	943	Neykuppai	NDI/Gopurappatti	

4.	Veṭpūr	969	Vaippūr	Kalvettu, Issue No.14	4
5.	Tudaiyur (B) (Mipilaru)	990	Toḍaiyūr	158/37 - 38	
6.	Vattalaikuḍlūr "	990	Vattalaiguḍlūr	"	7
7.	Kilinaḻlūr "	990	Kiliyanallūr	"	8
8.	Koṟṟanguḍi (D)	1006	Kovattakuḍi ?	IAAR, 70 - 71	9
9.	Bananallūr (D)	1006		"	
10.	Perumarudūr (T.S.)	1017	Marudūr	211/43 - 44	
11.	Aṇbanūr (Mipilaru) (D - T)	1014	Siṟukambūr	S.I.Vol.II,No.5	12
12.	Iṅgaiyūr (Kilpilaru) "	1014	Injūr	"	13
13.	Paṇamaṅgalam " "	1014	Paṇamaṅgalam	"	14
14.	Settanpaḍi " "	1014	Sattambāḍi	"	15
15.	(Na)kkankuḍi " "	1014	Madakkuḍi ?	"	16
16.	Venkenkudikkandam (H.Q.) "	1014	Venganku ḍi	"	
17.	Makanikudi	1014	Makalikuḍi	"	18
18.	Karimaṅgalṃ (")	1014		S.I.Vol.II.No.5	
19.	Guṇasīlamaṅgalam (B)	1048	Pichchāndārkōil	602/1902	20
20.	Neykuppaikkandam (H.Q.) (R)	1053	Noykuppai	127/28 - 29	
21.	Kavithikuḍi	1053		"	
22.	Valadi (Kilpalaru)	1068	Valaḍi	82/1892:37/37 - 38	
23.	Rajanārayaṇanallūr (Mipilaru) (D)	1094		132/38 - 39	
24.	Ayikuḍi	1130	Āyikuḍi	605/1908	
25.	Kavithikuḍi alias Agalangan Adamaṅgalam (R)	1132	Talakkudi	510/1912	
26.	Arindavanallūr	1132		"	
27.	Talaikkūḍi	1132	Talakkuḍi	"	28
28.	Tilathakkuḍi(R)	1172	"	692/62 - 63	
29.	Sonthamaraikannanallūr alias Tiruttoṇdatgainallūr (Mipilaru) (C)	1172		NDI/Tiruppaiñjili/Avanam	
30.	Thirupporchori (Mipilaru)	1172	Tiruppanjari	NDI/Thiruppainjili	31
31.	Karumaṇikkanallūr (")	1172	Kariyamanikkanallūr	"	32
32.	Siriyanbanallūr (") (R)	1172	Siṟukambūr	"	
33.	Pelangavūr (Kilpilaru) (B)	1191	Kil - Mol - Perungavūr	688/62 - 63	38
34.	Malavanūr	1191	Malavanūr	"	39
35.	Ṭiruveḻḻaṟai (Originally belongs to Vadavalinadu)	1194	Tiruveḻḻaṟai	194/38 - 39	
36.	Sangodu	1222	Seṅguḍi	NDI/Thiruppainjili Āvaṇam - 2	41
37.	Pandikulasanipuram	1222	Pandipuram	"	42
38.	Nanurruvankurichi alias Pillaiyandan Kuṟichchi (D)	1222		"	
39.	Ponnarulalanallur (D)	1225		235,236/73 - 74	
40.	Pachchūr	1232	Pāchchūr	142/1902	

41.	Sembiankurrūr	1233	Kuttur	23/1891	46
42.	Paingani	1233		"	
43.	Piraykkuḍi	1233	Parappangudi ?	"	48
44.	Kumaramangalam	1233	Udaramaṅgalam ?	"	49
45.	Kiramangalam	1233		"	
46.	Ilattuvaniyachori	1233	Illandapuram	"	51
47.	Pangayachalvinallūr	1233		"	
48.	Alappirandanallūr	1233		"	
49.	Porur Sirudavūr alias Palurcheri (Kipilaru)	1233	Palūr	",6/37 - 38	54
50.	Marudūr	1233	Sirumarudūr	23/1891	56
51.	Kannanur alias Vikramapuram (Capital)	1235	Kannanūr	18/1891	
52.	Kerisattankurai	1236		61/1903	
53.	Esanaikkurai	1236	Esanaikkorai	"	59
54.	Apputhikkurai	1236	Appadurai	61/1903	60
55.	Purosaikkuḍi (D)	1238		124/36 - 37	
56.	Sembiyanallur	1244	Sembiyanūr	31/37 - 38	62
57.	Narasingamaṅgalam (B?)	1258	Narisingamangalam	122/36 - 37	63
58.	Sengavūr	1258	Seṅguḍi	"	64
59.	Ottenur	1258		"	
60.	Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷachaturvēdimaṅgalam (B)	1265	Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷam	12/36 - 37	66
61.	Kannudaichaturvedi maṅgalam (B)	1265		12/36 - 37	
62.	Vattalai Talaikavorippoompaṭṭinam alias Nagaram Pāchchil (R)	1302	Gōpurappaṭṭi	NDIōpurappaṭṭi	
63.	Nattanangudi	1313	Patnaguḍi	39/36 - 37	70
64.	Nochchiam	1420	Nochchiam	352/53 - 54	72
65.	Mavadumaṅgalam	1420	Manpidimaṅgalam	52/1892	73
66.	Kumarakuḍi	1423	Kumarakuḍi	53/38 - 39	72a
67.	Pachchilpura Rathnapuri alias Periyaputhukadai (R)	1499	Gōpurapaṭṭi	NDI/Gōpurapaṭṭi	
68.	Kudappaḷḷi	1499	Kudappalli	NDI/Gōpurapaṭṭi	
69.	Udaramaṅgalam	1531	Udaramaṅgalam	24/38 - 39	
70.	Kilaiporungavur alias Lakkanna Daṇṇāyakapuram (R)	1592	Kīḻperungavūr	35/38 - 39	
71.	Manrachchanallūr	1592	Mannachchanallūr	21/38 - 39	79
72.	Gunasīlamaṅgalam alias Mallaiyapuram (R)	1601	Pichchandarkōil	164/36 - 37	
73.	Samayapuram	1732	Samayapuram	161/36 - 37	
74.	Mullapadukuḍi				82
75.	Tattanūr				83
76.	Udayarnattam				84
77.	Virakuḍi				85

78.	Nanjaipallivaḍi	86
79.	Injurpallikuḍi	87
80.	Pallivadi	88
81.	Edakudi	89
82.	Attani	90
83.	Nangamaṅgalam	91
84.	Jadigachatram	92
85.	Kalpalayam	93
86.	Ichchampaṭṭi	94
87.	Ulundanguḍi	95
88.	Thiruvarangampaṭṭi	96
89.	Kadukkaiturai	97
90.	Virandanallūr	98
91.	Madavaperumal Koil - Raṅgarājampaṭṭi	99
92.	Palampulivettu	100
93.	Melpattu	101
94.	Kuvarangampaṭṭi	102
95.	Narimeḍu	103
96.	Kallikuḍi	104
97.	Māṇikkapuram	105
98.	Puduteru	106

Note : T.S. : Temple Settlement

D : Dāvadāna Village

B : Brahmadāya Village

R : Village Name Repeated in the list when it figures with new name

H.Q. : Head Quarters of the Division

N.D.I. : Newly Discovered Inscription

23. TAMIL CAVE BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GINGEE REGION

M.D. Sampath

Two Tamil cave Brāhmī records[1] were copied from Gingee region in the year 1993. Of these two, one was copied from the caves of Paśumalai hills near Toṇḍūr and Mēl-Olakkūr in Gingee (Señji) Taluk of South Arcot District. This hill range is about 20 kilometres from Señji. The hill besides having caverns also contains the relief of Pārśvanātha- tīrthaṅkara. It is popularly known as *bhajanapaḍimalai*. The caverns are found on the north and south sides of the outcrop. There are three beds facing north with an approach of twenty-eight steps. Engraved on these beds, the archaic record is not easily visible to the naked eye. On the south side of the outcrop, there are two caverns, one at the top with two beds having approach steps, while the other at the bottom contains five beds, without steps.

The language of this record is Tamil and the script employed is called Damili or Tamil-Brāhmī. Though the terminology Damili is very well applicable to the alphabet of the archaic cave inscriptions of Tamil Nadu, on the score that their script got so evolved to suit Dravidian phonology, yet the name Tamil-Brāhmī has persisted with the epigraphists. Also this name has gained almost universal currency due to their reluctance to think in terms of a suitable and alternative name. This inscription is written in two lines and the engraving is rather shallow. The record may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to c.1st-2nd century A.D.

The record states that the beds were caused to be made by Mōchi, as the donation of the villagers of Agaḻ-ūr, under the orders *(ēva)* of [I]ḷaṅkāyipaṉ.

The interesting feature of the record is the absence of Bhaṭṭiprōlu system[2] of writing. In this record one can find the indigenous letter forms[3] for the special Dravidian sounds like *ṉ* and *ṟ*. The presence of *a* vowel value and the distinction made for the medial vowel-signs for *a* and *ā*, are some of the evolutionary features. In this record the *puḷḷi* (dot) is seen for the consonant letter *ṅ*. But in the Āṉaimalai inscription, the *puḷḷi* is present for the voiceless stop consonant letter *ṭ* in the expression *araṭṭa°*. Similarly, the *puḷḷi* marks were recently discovered[4] for the consonant letters *t* in the word *netti* and *ṭ* in the word *atiṭṭāṉam* occurring in some of the inscriptions from Pugaḷūr. This was noticed by myself and Sri Iravatham Mahadevan in the course of our *in-situ* study of the Pugaḷūr inscriptions.

The Tamil-Brāhmī record from Aivarmalai, in the Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi- Ratnagiri

route, which exhibit the Bhaṭṭiprōlu system of writing, can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to c.1st century B.C. 1st century A.D. Earlier scholars confirmed the presence of *puḷḷi* (dot) for the consonant letter *ṭ* in the word *ataṭa-aṉam.* This inscription was carefully examined by me and Sri I.Mahadevan recently.[5] We found that the *puḷḷi*, hitherto accepted by scholars, is an optical illusion and a natural depression in the rock surface. Our finding is that there is no mark of a chisel here to confirm the presence of a *puḷḷi.*

The letter forms seen in this record exhibit both the pre-Pugaḷūr and the Pugaḷūr features.

Some of the forms like *ṉ, m, t, v, ṭ, ū* show similarities to the ones found in the Pugaḷūr inscriptions. On account of the presence of *a*-vowel value in the consonant, the medial vowel signs for *a* and *ā* are not identical and the absence of many *puḷḷi* marks for the consonants, this record can be placed between the Aivarmalai record of the earlier period and some of the Pugaḷūr inscriptions of the first phase. As stated above, the use of *puḷḷi* is not to be seen in the earlier records. This system was introduced at a later stage as seen in the Āṉaimalai,[6] Pugaḷūr, and the present record, in order to distinguish the basic consonant and the consonant with the inherent *a.* It was devised to reduce the *mātrā* value from the full to the stop consonant. The Dravidian letter form *ḻ* in the word *Agaḻ-ūr* has not undergone any change and thus resembles the un-opened type of *ḻ* found in Māṅguḷam inscriptions.[6] This is an older form having a circle with a vertical line cutting across and ending in a zig-zag line. It is still retained. The marked scriptal development can be noticed in the letter forms *ṉ, ḷ* and *ṟ.*

The term Iḷaṅkāyipaṉ occurring in the present record is suggestive of a title rather than a personal name. The literal meaning for this is the young Kāśyapa. The term *Kāyipaṉ* is the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *Kāśyapa*, which term occurs as the name of a *gōtra.* Mōchi, a personal name of the donor who caused the beds to be made in the cavern, reminds us of the name of an ancient Tamil poet.

The place Agaḻ-ūr is identical with the present Agaḷūr, a famous Jaina centre, located in the Gingee - Mēl-Olakkūr or Toṇḍūr route. This place has yielded inscriptions of eighth century A.D.[7] The temple dedicated to a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* is still under worship by many of the Jaina residents in the village. The inscription of Nandivarmaṉ, identified with Nandivarmaṉ II, having a high regnal year, mentions the place as Agaḷūr. Toṇḍūr, wherefrom the Brāhmī record comes, is referred to in another record of the same period in the context of its destruction by one Kampaiyaṉ.

The second record[8], engraved on a boulder, which forms the outer face of a

rocky outcrop, locally called *Aḍukku-pāṟai*, is from the place Nagaṉūrpaṭṭi, 7 kms from Gingee (Señji), in the Gingee-Dēśūr route. In the rocky out-crop, slightly away from the inscription are found the beds. The village Nagaṉūr is very close to the findspot of the record.

The inscription is in four lines and the engraving is not deep. The language of the record is Tamil and the script employed is Tamil-Brāhmī. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be placed later to the Toṇḍūr inscription but earlier to the record from Arachchalūr. The record under study may be assigned to c.2nd-3rd century A.D. on the basis of palaeography.

The record states that the cave (*paḷḷi*) was caused to be made by ūchekkantaṉṉi, the mother (*tāyi*) of Chekkanti of Perumpogaḻ village.

The following palaeographical peculiarities deserve notice. The earlier letter forms that are retained in this record are the *ṇ* and *m*. Some of the letter forms like *t*, liquid *ḷ*, *ch* and *y* figuring in this record show similarities with the forms found in the Pugaḷūr inscriptions. The occurrence of *puḷḷi* can be seen in this record for the consonants *m*, *ḷ*, *k*, *n*, *t* and *ḻ*. The horse-shoe shaped *m* and the Roman *I* shaped cerebral *ṇ* are some of the earlier forms. The form for *t* has undergone development and shows the change of the line into a curve from the middle of the stem. The letter form *l*, which is very much similar to the form found in the Irumporai records from Pugaḷūr,[9] shows the change of left and initial horizontal stem into an accentuated curve. The stem on the right side to which this curve is connected still retains the earlier feature. That is to say that the form is not written in a running fashion thereby avoiding the stem itself. The form of *ḻ* noticed here is similar to the one found in the word *Iḻakuṭumpikaṉ* referred to in one of the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam inscriptions.[10] The circle opened at the top with a wider slit has resulted in a loop on the right. This loop finally ends in a short curve at the bottom. The letter form *p* has a curve with both unlevelled and levelled arms.

The levelled *p* is seen in the Nānēghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, which is assigned to first century B.C. The former type can be seen in the Arikamēḍu potsherd inscriptions No.3 and 13 of 1st-2nd century A.D.[11]

The place Perumpogaḻ from where Chekkanti hails can be identified with the modern Perumpugai in Gingee Taluk of South Arcot District.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. These two records are included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1992-93 and are included in this article with the kind permision of Director of Epigraphy I.S.A. Mysore.

2. Paper on the 'Origin, Evolution and Orthography of the Brāhmī Script' by M.D. Sampath presented at the Tamil University Symposium, 1988.

3. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.XLII, p.146.

4. *Indological Essays* (Commemorative Volume II for Gift Siromoney), (ed.) by Michael Lockwood (1992), p.152

5. *Ibid.*, p.150

6. M.D.Sampath, *Ibid.*

7. See the 'Jaina Inscriptions of Sāttamaṅgalam' by M.D.Sampath in the *Seminar on Inscriptions*, (ed). by R.Nagaswamy, pp.161-62.

8. Michael Lockwood, *op.cit.*, p.152. This record was discovered by my colleague S.Rajavelu, Senior Epigraphical Asst, Epigraphy Branch, South Zone, Madras. Myself and Rajavelu made an *in-situ* examination of this record and copied the same during February 1993. The same is being included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1992-93.

9. See the 'Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions' by Iravatham Mahadevan in the *Seminar on Inscriptions*, (ed). by R.Nagaswamy, pp.65-66, Nos. 56-57.

10. *Ibid.*, p.65, No.51.

11. M.D.Sampath, *op.cit.*

I Toṇḍūr Record Test :

1 Iḷaṅkayipaṉ ēva Agaḻ-ūr-aṟam 2 Mōchi cheyita atiṭāṉam

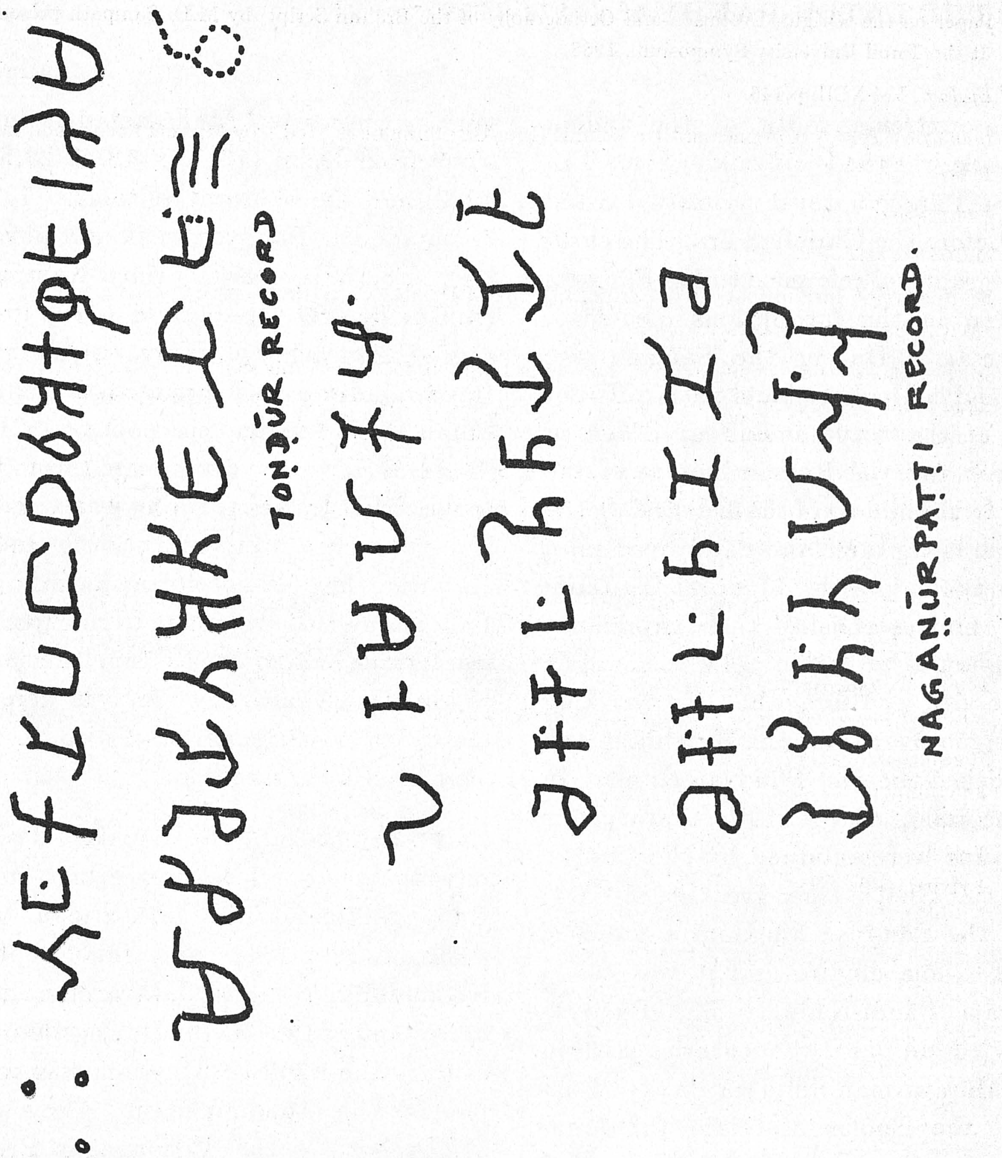
II Nagaṉūrpaṭṭi Record - Text :

1 Perumpogaḻ

2 Chekkanti tāyiya Ū

3 chekkantaṇṇi che -

4 yivitta paḷḷi


TONḌŪR RECORD
NAGANŪRPAṬṬI RECORD.

THE LATER PANDYAS (1371-1759)

N. Sethuraman

The extreme south of the Indian Peninsula was the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The ancient Pāṇḍyan royal dynasty existed from before the Christian era. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Pāṇḍyas is found in the inscriptions of Aśōka, the great. During the Saṅgam age the Pāṇḍyas had contacts with different parts of the world including China in the east and the Roman empire in the west. In the middle of the 3rd century the Kaḷabaras captured the Pāṇḍyan capital Madurai(the present Madurai in Tamil Nadu) and established their supremacy throughout the region. In the middle of the 6th century, the Pāṇḍya king Kaḍuṅgōn overthrew the Kaḷabhras and established the first Pāṇḍyan empire. In the begining of the 10th century the Pāṇḍyans were subdued by the Chōḷas. Rājarāja Chōḷa, the great (985-1014) made the Pāṇḍyan kingdom a province of the Chōḷa empire and it was called Rājarāja Pāṇḍi-Nāḍu. The Pāṇḍyas struggled on for two centuries and in 1219 Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I defeated the Chōḷas and laid the foundation for the second Pāṇḍyan empire. The Chōḷas disappeared around 1279. The Pāṇḍyan banner with the two fish emblem flew in Kēraḷa, Ceylon, Chōḷa maṇḍalam and also in certain southern parts of the Telugu country. They were at their zenith in the 14th century. Successive Muhammadan invasions from Delhi (1311, 1318, 1323 and 1327) and the Madurai Sultanate (1323-71) made the Pāṇḍyas weak and powerless. The Vijayanagar prince Kampaṇa (son of Bukka, the disciple of the great sage Śaṅkarāchārya Vidyāraṇya) captured Madurai and brought the entire Tamil Nadu under his control. The Madurai Sultanate disappeared from the scene. The Vijayanagar empire exercised its authority throughout South India. However, they did not do any harm to the Pāṇḍyas and allowed them to rule freely a small track of land near Tirunelvēli south of Madurai. Politically Pāṇḍyas were no match to Vijayanagar and also to the near by Kēraḷa kingdom.

Pāṇḍya Kūlōdaya, the Sanskrit Poem[1] introduces the historical kings upto Kaliyugarāmaṉ alias Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya 1297-1342 and his nephew Kōdaṇḍarāma[2] alias Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya 1304-1319. During the 14th century the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was occupied by the Muhammadans. They were driven out by the Vijayanagar Prince Kampaṇa in 1371. This episode is completely omitted in *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya.* The poet skips over half a century and describes the kings who ruled prior to and after the reign of Teṉkāśi Parākrama, the builder of the famous Teṉkāśi temple.[3]

He ruled from 1422 to 1463 A.D. Thus the making of the later Pāṇḍyas starts with the predecessors of Teṉkāśi Parākrama. The poet says that in the family of the Pāṇḍyas and several years after the rule of Kōdaṇḍarāma alias Sundara Pāṇḍya (1304-1319), a great king called Kanaka Parākrama ruled. His sister's son was Abirāma Vīra Pāṇḍya. His son was Abirama Kulaśēkara. After his reign Śrīvallabha ruled followed by Vīra Pāṇḍya whose successor was Teṉkāśi Parākrama (1422-63). The predecessors of Parākrama are not far away. They must have existed after 1371 when the Muhammadans were driven out from Madurai which fact is carefully left out in the poem.

(Kanaka) Parākrama (1357-1372)

A record(30/1896) which comes from Chōḷapuram near Ngarkōyil belongs to Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The data are śaka 1293 month Makara year 15 corresponding to January 1372 A.D. the date when the Muhammandan rule was wiped out by Vijayanagar. Kielhorn consulted the data of his other records and said that he came to the throne between the 5th February 1357 and the 9th January 1358 and ruled till 1372 (E.I.IX Page 228). Probably he was Kanaka Parākrama since some of the princes discussed below figure in the poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya.*

Haṭilavarman Parākrama (1367-1387)

A record which comes from courtallam near Teṉkāśi (408/1917) belongs to Jaṭilavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The data are śaka 1309, year 20 day 279 corresponding to 1387 A.D. The record states that Parākrama repaired the temple from the base to the pinnacle (upānadi stūpi pariyantam) and also the central shrine, *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa.* His other records are not known. For the present we can safely conclude that Parākrama ruled from 1367 to 1387.

Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (1371-1396)

Another record 422/1917 which comes from the above temple belongs to Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of birth star Jyēshṭa. He calls Parākrama who repaired the courtallam temples elder brother.[4] The record supplies the date Year 23, Ṛishaba, Śukla, Pañchami, Pushya and Wednesday. The date of the record fall after 1387 when the temple was repaired. The data perfectly agree with 5th May 1394. Since his other records are not known we can tentatively conclude that he ruled from 1371 to 1396. Most probably he was the son of the sister of (Kanaka ?) Parākrama who ruled from 1357 to 1372.

Jaṭilavarman Kulaśēkhara (1395-1411)

According to the poem, the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya must be Kulaśēkhara. Karivaḷamvandanallūr record 27/1908 of

Jaṭilavarman Kulaśēkhara quotes Śaka 1324, Year 7. His Ilañji record 528/1911 (in which Māṟavarman is a mistake for Jaṭilavarman) states that he built the Subrahmaṇya temple from the base to the pinacle. The data are Śaka 1331 year 14. His courtallem record 458/1918 is dated Śaka 1333. The available data indicate that Kulaśēkhara ruled from 1395 to 1411.

Maṟavarman Śrīvallabha (1402-1444)

The son of Kulaśēkhara., according to the poem was Śrīvallabha. Records bearing the name Maṟavarman Śrīvallabha of this period are tabultated in Table-1 of the Appendix portion. He ruled from 1402 to 1444. His surname was āhavaraman and his birth star was Pūraṭṭādi. His Attāḷanalūr record contains the Tamil Praśasti *Jayamaḍanḍaiyum* which is a verbatim copy of an earlier record of Śrīvallabha of 1101 A.D. (See page 112 of Medieval Pāṇḍyas - N.Sethuraman) Śrīvallabha covered the Rāmēsuaram temple with copper. This is confirmed by the Pudukkōṭṭai copper plates which we shall see somewhere below.

Jatilavarman Parākrama (1401-1434)

Two records of the Table I coming from Ilañji and Dēvadānam inform us that Śrīvallabha had an elder brother called Parākrama Pāṇḍya and his 30th year is quoted. Dēvadānam record 246/1941 belongs to Jaṭilavarmaṉ Parākrama year 33, Mithuna, su 9 Tuesday, Chittirai. The data agree with 15th June 1414 yielding his first year 1401. Probably he should be the elder brother of Śrīvallabha. Since his other records are not known we can surmise for the present that Parākrama ruled from 1401 to 1434. This Parākrama is not mentioned in the poem *Pāṇḍyakulōdaya.*

Maṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (1421-1446)

Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya states that Vīra Pāṇḍya was the son of Śrīvallabha. Inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya of this period are available. They are tabulated in Table II. His dynastic title was Maṟavarmaṉ. He ruled from 1421 to 1446. He was called Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ and also Kaliyugarāmaṉ. However, his record is not available in the Tirunelvēli temple. His birth star was *Ārdrā.*

During this period a coin by name Kaliyugaraman-paṇam was in circulation. This coin is mentioned in the Tiruchendūr record 28 of 1912 dated Kollam 621 corresponding to 1445 A.D. This date prompted the scholars that the coin was issued by Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1421. The surmise no longer holds good. Tirukōḷḷūr record 723/963 is dated Kollam 589 Puṟaṭṭāśi equivalent to September 1413 A.D. It also mentions Kaliyugarāmaṉ-paṇam. It means that prior to 1413 there was some other king with the surname Kaliyugarāmaṉ and he should

have minted the coins. Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya alias Kaliyugarāmaṉ ruled from 1297 to 1342. He founded a village called Kaliyugarāma chaturvēdi maṅgalam in his name near Śrīraṅgam. It was he who issued these coins. (N. Sethuraman - Pāṇḍyar Varalāru-Tamil-page 156).

Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (1404-1445)

During this period there was another prince by name Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya. However, the poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* is silent about him. Tiruchchendūr record 27/1912 belongs to Māṟvarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Year 13. It records gift of lands to a tample and also to a brāhmaṇa of Maṅgalaṁkuṟichchi. The next record 28/1912 which belongs to him is dated Kollam 621 corresponding to 1445 A.D. It refers to the above transactions and states further that the temple for which the lands were gifted was called Nakkīradēva. The brahmaṇa who figures in the previous record also figures here. In the record the king bears the surname Raṅaraṇgarāmaṅ Perumāḷ.

A record 612/1902 which comes from Tirupuṉavāśal belongs to Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Śaka 1339, Year 14, Makara, Śukla Pañchami, Wednesday and Uttiraṭṭāḍi. The data regularly correspond to 12th January 1418. This yields his accession in 1404. The available materials indicate that Māṟavarman Vikrama alias Raṇaraṅgarāman ruled from 1404 to 1445. His relationship with the other Pāṇḍyan princes is not known.

Teṉkāsi Parākrama (1422-1463)

Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya states that Jaṭilavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the founder of the capital Teṉkāśi and the builder of the famous Teṉkāśi Viśvanātha temple was the successor Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya alias Kaliyugāramaṉ of accession 1421. The relationship is not known. Parākrama came to the throne in 1422. His Tamil Praśasti begins with the introduction 'Pūmiśai vaṉitai', etc. His birth star was *Mrigaśira.*

The Teṉkāśi inscription of Parākrama says that god Viśvanātha having appeared in the dream of the king Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva was pleased to express His desire thus : "Our temple (Śivālaya) in the Uttara Kāśi (Northern Kasi-Benaras) is in ruins (jīraṇa). We desire that a temple (ālaya) for us should be built under the name Dakkshiṇa Kāśi on the northern bank of the river Chitrā". Upon this Parākrama founded the city Teṉkāśi (Dakshiṇa Kaśī) and built the Śivālaya called Viśvanātha temple.[5] While the inscription informs us in a polite style, the poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* (the manuscript of which was found in Lahore Museum, Pakistan and later transferred to the Punjab University) tells the historic truth point blank.

The poem says that one evening as the Pāṇḍya king was sitting on his throne after performing his religious routine, he saw a brāhmaṇa who was coming from Kāśi along with his wife and two children. Marking with sacred ash (bhasma prasādam) the forehead of the king who was an ocean of immense compassion, the brāhmaṇ as told something in secret to his sons and then gave to the king a large fruit. He then said to the king "(Oh king) our entire wealth has been plundered by the Muslims (Tuluskas) and our beautiful residence has been raced to the ground. Build, therefore for me, a charming house (Kaṇṭham niśāntam) on the banks of the Dabara river". Then He dissappeared.

The king assured himself thus about the noble brāhmaṇa- "to be sure it is Siva (Isa) the ocean of compassion Himself who had come to me accompained by Pārvati, the daughter of Mount Himavan and their two sons the elephant faced Gaṇēśa and Skanda".

The fact remains that when the Kāśi Viśvanātha temple on the banks of river Gaṇgā was demolished by the Muslims, Parakrama Pāṇḍya founded the city Dhakshiṇa Kāśi and built the Viśvanātha temple there. Incidentally many brāhmaṇas who came from the river Gaṅgā regions figure in the Teṉkāśi inscriptions of Parakrama.[6] Probably they sought assylum in the south when the Benares temple was destroyed by the Muslims. Parakrama started the construction of the temple in 1446 A.D. Śivaliṅg was consecrated in 1447. The foundation for the temple was laid in 1457. In the year 1463 Parākrama died. The rest of the construction was completed by his younger brother Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhara. The dates and doings of Teṅkāśi Parākrama and the reigns of his successors upto 1508 are discussed (by me) in the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India volume nine edition 1982 and there is no need for repetition here. However, in order to maintain the continuity of the present article the geneaology and the dates of these princes are given in the next page.

TENKASI PARAKRAMA AND HIS SUCCESSORS *B.S. - Birth Star*

(1)	(3)	(5)	(7)
Teṉkāśi Parā	Śrīvallabha	Kulaśēkhara	Princess
krama B.S.	B.S.Uttiram	B.S.Punar-	Abhirāma
Mṛigaśira	was alive in	vaśu	Nāyika
1422-63	1471	1430-77	

(2)
Kulōttuṅga
Pāṇḍya B.S.
Jyēshṭa
1423-66

(4)
Princes

(6)
Arikēśvara
1437-78

(8)
Sembaka
Sundara alias
Vīra Pāṇḍya
1447-62

(9)
Śrīvallabha
B.S. Ārdrā
1454-58

(10)
Poṉṉin
Perumāḷ
Parākrama
Pāṇḍya alias
Vīra Pāṇḍya
B.S. Aviṭṭam
1468-81

(11)
Aḷagaṉ
Perumāḷ
Parākrama
B.S.Aviṭṭam
1474-1506

(12)
Parākrama
B.S.Ārdrā
1474-84

(13)
Parākrama
alias
Kulaśēkhara
B.S. Kṛtika
1480-1508

(14)
Vīra Pāṇḍya
1486-87

No. 13 and 14 Parākrama alias Kulaśēkhara and 14 Vīra Pāṇḍya are the heroes of the sanskrit poen *Pāṇḍya Kutodya*

Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ(Lord of Tirunelvēli)

Prior to the coming of the Muhammadans the Tirunelvēli town was more or less the second capital of the Pāṇḍyas. When the Madural Sultanate was established (1323-1371) the Pāṇḍyas withdrew from Tirunelvēli and went to the northern side of Tamil Nadu. The last Paṇḍyan record of this period which comes from Tirunelvēli belongs to Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya II[7] dated 1321. Afterwards for two centuries no Pāṇḍyan record appears in Tirunelvēli. Many Pāṇḍya kings of the 15th, 16th centuries call themselves Tirunelvēli Perumaḷs. But except the lone record of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya alisa Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ dated 1545 (S.I.I.V. 408) no other Pāṇḍyan record appears till 1759, the last date of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty. It is curious to see that between 1321 and 1759 only one Pāṇḍyan satisfied themselves by boasting as Tirunelvēli Perumāḷs whereas in reality it was not so. Pāṇḍyas called themselves as "who revived the past". This was an empty boast. Politically they were weak. The past glory was not revived. However, they revived the past in the matter copying the praśastis of their ancestors who existed in the 12th and 13th centuries. For example, Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha of accession 1402 copied the Tamil praśasti Jayamadandaiyum, etc of Saḍaiyavarmaṉ Śrīvallabha of accession 1101. Most of the princes of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries adopted the Bhuvanēka Vīra praśasti of māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1250 and his brother Śaḍaiyavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1250. The praśasti also is in corrupt form without relevance to any event.[8]

The Pāṇḍyas who at that time ruled a few taluks, with the high sounding title Tribhuvanachakravarti were defeated by the Kēraḷa kings who established their authority in and round Tirunelvēli. Their records are available in Tirunelvēli, Teṇkāśi and extend up to Kanyākumari the extreme south of the peninsula. Between 1508 and 1534 no Pāṇḍyan record appears. They were overrun by the Keraḷa kings.[9] The condition of this ancient dynasty was very pathetic. They sought the help of the then Vijayanagar emperor Achyutadēvarāja.

Achyutadēvaraya

A record which comes from Kāñchīpuram belongs to Achuta and it is dated November 1529. It states that Achyuta defeated the Kēraḷa king, collected tributes from him and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of river Tāmbaraparaṇi. During the campaign Achyuta helped the Pāṇḍyas and also married a Pāṇḍyan princess.[10] The event has to be placed around 1529.

In his poem Achyātarāyabhudayam the poet Regunātha Kavi informs us that when the emperor having heard that the king of Tiruvaḍi (king of Kēraḷa) did not pay the tributes for some years re-

solved to teach him a lesson. A large expedition was fitted up and was personally commanded by the emperor. He stayed at Śriraṅgam (part of modern Truchirāppaḷḷi) and sent his brother-in-law (Tirumala), son of Salagarāja, implored him to entrust to him the charge of bringing the Tiruvaḍi (Kēraḷa king) to his sense. The Kēraḷa king was defeated on the banks of Tāmbaraparaṇi and the Vijayanagar general took him prisoner. The Kēraḷa king came to Śrīraṅgam and Achyuta treated him with great consideration and his life was spared.[11] It was at this time Achyuta should have married the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king. We must know the Pāṇḍya king whose daughter married Achyuta.

Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha who revived the past (1534 - 1545)

During this period a certain Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya styled himself as he who revived the past *(iranda kālam edutta)* appears on the scene. His records are tabulated in Table III He came to the throne in 1534. In the records he calls hisself Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha alias Kulaśēkhara and Kōdaṇḍarāma, son of Ahavarāma. His rule extends upto 1545. His birth star was Aśuathi. He is also called Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ. (Dārukāpuram 583 of 1915). His grantha praśasti begins with Bhuvanekavīra. etc A coin issued by Achyutadēva rāya was found in krishṇapuram (about 40 kilometers west of Śrīraṅgam). On the obverse the legend Āhavarāma in the characters of the 16th century Tamil is written. On the reverse Achyuta's favourite Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa bird figures. These facts prove that Achyuta married the daughter of Āhavarāma Pāṇḍya and on this occassion he issued the coins bearing the name Āhavarāma in honour of his father-in-law. Achyuta did not go to the southern war front. He was camping at Śrīraṅgam. Probably the marriage should have taken place at Śrīraṅgam and fittingly the Āhanvarāma Pāṇḍya coin is found west of Śrīraṅgam. Obviously the above Śrīvallabha alias Kulaśēkhara alias Kōdaṇḍarāma, son of Āhavarama, should be the brother of the Pāṇḍyan princess who married Achyuta. The matrimonial alliance prompted Śrīvallabha to adopt the high sounding tittle " he who revived the past" *(iranda-kālam-eḍutta)*

Māṟavarman Parākrama (1506-1536)

During this period there were two princes called Māravarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Vallanād Agaram record 4 of 1916 belongs to Māṟāvarman Parakrama Year 30, Śaka 1457, Paṇguṇi, Śu 5, Rōhiṇi and Sunday. The data agree with 26th March 1536. This yields his initial year as 1506. However till 1536 his records do not appear obviously because of the Kēraḷa occupation of this territory. After getting help from Achyutadēvaryy, Parīama appears on the scene. His relationship with the later kings is not known.

Māvarman Sundara Pāṇ ḍya (1531-1555)

After the revival of the Pāṇḍyas another prince by name Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya appears. His records are tabulated in Table IV. He ruled from 1531 to 1555. His birth star was Hasta (See Table IV). In his Tirunelvēli record dated 1545 (S.I.I.V 408) he is called by the royal title Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ, born in Pushya evidently the accession star which made him the king. The same record states that his birth star was Hasta. (Elsewhere we have discussed this record. Between 1321 and 1759 which was the last date of the Pāṇḍyas, this is the only Pāṇḍyan record found in the Tirunelvēli temple)

Abhirāma and Āhavarāma

The Pudukkōṭṭai copper plates of Śrīvallabha alias Varatuṅgarāma dated 1583 supply valuable information about the later Pāṇḍyas.[12] A comparitive study (a most difficult task) of these plates with the inscriptions of the later Pāṇḍyas discovered upto this date throws new light in our venture. The charter states that in the family of the Pāṇḍyas two great kings were born namely Śrīvallabha and Māṇābharaṇa. The former gilded the Rāmēśvaram temple with copper and the latter founded the Teṉkāśi city and built the Viśvanātha temple. It is clear that those two kings were Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha of accession 1402 and Tenkāsi Parākrama of accession 1422. The copper plates further state that in the family of these kings, two brothers namely Abhirāma Parakrama and Āhavarāma were born. According to the copper plates the genealogy of the decendants of these two kings is as follows :

(1) Abirama Parakrama — Younger brother — (2) Āhavarama

(3) Parākrama alias Kulasēkara

(4) Salivatipati (Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ)

(6) Guṇarāma

(7) Varatuṅgarāma

(5) Śrīvallabha who revived the past

(8) Arivīrarāma

(9) Śrīvallabha

We have already seen No.5 Śrīvallabha, son of Āhavarāma. He ruled from 1534 to 1545. His birth star was Aśuati. He was called "he who revived the past". His sister married Achyutadēvarāya.

Let us see Nos. 3 & 4 the two sons of Abhirāma. In the inscriptions the elder brother is called Jaṭilavarman Parākrama alias Kulaśēkhara, Vīravenbāmālai, Tirunelveli Perumāḷ son of Abhirāma Parākrama. In certain records he is called Vīravenbāmālai alias Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ Kulaśēskharadēva son of Abhirama Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva. His records are many. For the purpose of our research certain records alone are given in Table V. He ruled from 1543 to 1551. His birth star was Aświti.[13] His records are found in and around Teṉkāśi. Though he is called in diffirent ways in the inscriptions, his father's name Abhirama Parākrama and the accession date 1543 help us in identifying his records.

In the village llavēlaṅgaḷ near Kōvilpaṭṭi taluk nine hero stones with inscriptions on them are found. These stones each of about four feet in height depict series of conflicts between two opposing warriors. One of these warriors is represented with a high slaping top knot, fighting on foot with bow and arrows having a shield in the left arm for protection. The enemy appears as a royal warrior wearing a crown and riding on horse back. A shield, a sword and a lance form his armour. Most of the inscriptions dated Śaka 1469, Kīlaka (corresponding to 1547) record the death of some Māṟavar soldiers of Kundiyamkot tei who fought on the side of Tirunelvēli perumāḷ alias Vēttumperumāḷ against the army of a certain Veṅgaḷarāja when the latter rose in revolt against his overlord. They state that Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ was camping at llavēlaṅgaḷ. At that time some of the Maṟavar soldiers are stated to have died after piercing the horses of the opponent (Kudirai kurti paṭṭan). The scene of the battle might have been the field where the hero stones are found. The ruling king in about this time was Parākrama alias Kulaśēkāra alias Tirunelēli Perumāḷ of accession 1543. Evidently he should have conducted the successful campaign.[14] The episode of the revolt of Veṅgaḷa Rāja also called *Kaṇṇaḍian kalakam* (revolt by the Kannaḍigas) is also described in the Tamil folk poem *Aivar Rājākkaḷ Kadai* (story of the five Rājas) - (Vanamamalai - Madurai Kamaraj University).

Inscriptions of No.4 the second son of Abhirāma are many. He bears the same name of his elder brother i.e., Parākrama Pāṇḍya alias Kulaśēkharadēva, Tirunelvēli Perumāl. Sometimes the epithets Vīravenbāmālai, Dharmaperumāḷ are also added. *Vīravenbāmālai* means garland of verses in Tamil in Venbā meters praising the heroic deeds of the king. His records are found around Teṉkāsi and Śrīvilliputtūr. For the purpose of our research some of his records are tabulated in Table VI. He came to the throne in 1551 and his records are available upto 1563. In all his records he

gives the name of his father Abhirāma Parākrama.

Princes Nos. 8 & 9

Before investigating Guṇarāma No. 6 and Varatuṅgarāma No. 7 let us see Nos. 8 & 9. Inscriptions bearing the name Jaṭilavarmaṉ Aḻagan Perumāḷ Ativīrarāma alias Śrīvallabhadēva, son of Dārmaparumāḷ Kulaśākhara who was the son of Abhirāma Parākrama are available. The dates of many records bearing this name are given in the pages 118 to 121 of A.R. Ep. 1918. Certain records point out the accession in 1563 and some in 1564. The former set of records shows that the first year of the king falls in the month Mina and also in the subsequent solar months in 1563. The latter set of records indicates that the first year falls in the month Mīna and the subsequent solar months iṇ 1564. (The backward calculations are extremely difficult. In order to minimise the difficulty I have suggested the above method which is enough for the present. Records which contain imperfect data are not considered). Thus we see two princes with the same name Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Ativīrarāma alias Śrīvallabha of accession 1563 and 1564 respectively. As we shall see below they were brothers.

Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Ativīrarama ālias Śrīvallabha I (1563 - 1583)

He was born in the Puṇarvaśu star.[15] He built the Kulaśēkharamuḍaiyar Śiva Temple and the goddess shrine Kuḷavāymoḻi Nāchiyār temple at Teṉkāśi[16] in 1568. He was a great Tamil scholar. He translated the Sanskrit poem *Nāishadam* into elegant Tamil called Naiḍadam. He wrote in Tamil *Kūrma Purāṇa* and *Kāśi Kāṇḍam.* The Pudukkōṭṭai copper plates state that he was no more in 1583 which was his 21st regnal year.[17] His younger brother was Śrīvallabha whom we have already seen.

Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Ativīrarama alias Śrīvallabha II (1564 - 1606)

The Śrīvilliputtūr copper plates state that Abhirāma Parākrama had a son called Parākrama.[18] In the Saka year 1474 current (1551 A.D.) cyclic year Virōdhākrit his son Abhirāma formed a village called Parākrama Pāṇḍyapura in the name of his father. This information prompts us to identify Abhirāma with Śrīvallabha, the second son of Parākrama of accession 1551.

The Teṇkāśi gōpuram record[19] states that Aḻagan Śivala-vel (Śrīvallabha) was crowned in 1564 Chittirai.

The Daḷavāy Agraharam plates of Ativīrarāma[20] state that Abirāma's son was Parākrama. His son was Śrīvallabha also called Abirama and Ativīrarama. The charter was issued in Saka 1517 wrong for 1518 cyclic year Durmukhi Simha, Su 12, Monday the 33rd Year of the king. The date corresponds to 23rd August 1596. Backward calculation proves that Simha of 1564 was the first year of the king. All pur together. It is very clear and we can safely con-

clude that Alagan Perumal Ativīrarama Śrīvallabha of Accession 1564 was the second son of Parākrama. He was also called Abirama. He was the younger brother of Aḷagan Perumaḷ Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabha of accession 1563. He issued the Śrīvilliputtur charter. The highest regnal year of the elder is 21 corresponding to 1583 and that of the younger is 42 corresponding to 1606 A.D.[21]

The above Śrīvilliputtūr charter states that the birth star of Ativlrarama Śrīvallabha of accession 1564 was Dhanishṭa. This is also confirmed by his Tenkasi record 484/1917. The data are Śaka 1519 current cyclic year Durmukhi month Mina. The record is dated 1597 Mīna the 34th Year of the king. Mīna 1563 is the 10th year and the first year falls in Mīna 1564. This proves that the record belongs to the younger brother and the high regnal year also confirms our surmise. Tenkasi record S.I.I.XXVI 545 confirms that the birth star of younger Ativirarama was Dhanishta. Tenkāsi record 501/1917 states that in 1566 Ativirarama of accession 1564 built the Śrīvallabha viṇṇagar Perumāḷ Vishṇu Temple in Tenkāsi.

In all their inscriptions the two brothers Nos. 8 & 9 are called Āḷagan Perumāḷ Ativīrarāma alias Śrīvallabha. Sometimes the names of their father and grand father are also given. In order to identify the brothers of same name the following method will be useful.

The highest regnal year for the elder is 21. Therefore records with regnal years 22 and above can be assigned to the younger. In the case of the records in which the regnal years are 21 and below the astronomical data are to be worked out and the equivalent christian dates are to be found. With the help of the regnal years we can do the backward calculations and find whether the initial year was 1563 or 1564. These dates will help us in assigning the record either to the lder or younger.Records in which the Śaka years and cyclic years are quoted, sufficient care is to be taken to verify whether the quoted Śaka year is current or expired. Where the data are imperfect, the record should be rejected as far as the date portion is concerned. The contents of the records can be taken into consideration for the study of social, economic and art history. The birth star of the elder Ativīrarāma was Punarvasu and that of the younger Ativīrarāma was Dhanishta. In certain records the younger brother is also called Ativīrarāma Śrīvallabha alias Abirāma.

Gunarama No-6

It seems that Gunarāma did not aspire for the throne. Because his inscriptions is not available. His existence in 1555 is quoted by the Tenkāsi record 538/1917. It says that the birth star of Guṇarāma was Mūla.

(1) Abhirāma — Younger brother — (2) Āhavarāma

(3) Parākrāma alias Kula-śēkhara alias Vīraveṇ-bāmālai Tirunēlvēli Perumāḷ, birth star Aśvati 1543 to 1551

(5) Śrīvallabha alias Kula-śēkhara alias Kodaṇḍa-rāma who revived the past whose sister married Achyutadēva-rāya (in 1529) 1534-1545)

(4) Parākrama alias Kula-śēkhara alias Tirunel-vēli Perumāḷ, Vīra Veṇbāmālai, Dharma Perumāḷ 1551-1563

(6) Guṇarāma existed in 1555 birth star Mūla

(7) Varatuṅgaārama birth star Pushya - Tamil scholar 1586-1595

(8) Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Ati-vīrarāma Śrīvallabha Birth Star Punarvaśu-built the Kulaśēkhara-uḍaiyār Śiva tem-ple at Teṉkaśi. Tamil scholar 1563-1583

(9) Aḻagaṉ Perumāḷ Ati-vīrārama Śrīvallabha called Abhirāma birth star Dhanishṭa-built Śrīvallabha Viṇṇagar emberumāṉ Vishṇu temple at Teṉkāśi 1564-1606

Varatungarama No-7

His records are tabulated in Table VII. He is called Abirama Varatungarama alias Vira Pāṇḍya. In certain records he is called Abirama Sundarēsvara Varatuṅgarāma. He came to the throne in 1586 and ruled till 1593. He participated in the administration prior to his accession also. His birth star was Pushya.

He was the author of the Tamil poems *Brahmōttara Kāṇḍam* and *Kokkokam* (*Kāma Sūtra - sex*)

With the help of the above data we can construct the geneaology of the 16th century Pāṇḍya kings as follows :

The decendants of the above princes are not known. Certain princes rarely appear till 1759. But we are not in a position to construct the chronology and geneaology. Let us see those kings.

Record Village	Name of the king and other Data	Date
T.A.S. VI Page 147 Tenkāsi	Varaguṇa Śrīvallabha alias Kulaśēkēara Dīkshitēr who performed yāgā-Śaka 1537	1615
T.A.S. VI Page 148 Sambūr Vaḍagarai	Śrīvala Māṟaṉ Varguṇa Rāman alias Pāṇḍya Kulaṇśhēkāra śōmājiyār śaka 1538, Year 3	1616
597/1915 Sayamalai	Śrīvala Māraṉ Varaguṇa alias Kulaśēkhara Dīkshita Śaka 1563 Year 23 + some year	1641
268/1908 Karivaḷam Vandanallūr	Śrīvala Maravaṉ Guṇarāma alias Pāṇḍya Kulaśhēkara Dīkshitar Śaka 1574 current, year 37	1651
T.A.S. VI Page 149 courtallam	Śrīvala Varaguṇarāma Pāṇḍya, Kulaśēkhara Dāvadīkshitar who revived the past Kollam 930	1754
T.A.S. VI Page 151 courtallam	Śrīvala Varaguṇa Rāma Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara Dāvadīkshitar who revived the past Kollam 935 Kārttika	1759

Most probably the first four recorcs belong to the same king of accession 1613. The princes bear the brāhmaṇ title Sōmājiyar̄ and Dīkshātar. According to *Dharma Śastras* it is permitted to a *Kshatriya* to request brāhmaṇas to perform yāgas in his name - and the king can style himself Dīkshitar or Sōmajiyār. Recently the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology discovered two copper plates of the last king.[22] Unfortunately the date portion is wrong.

Politically the later Pāṇḍyas were very week. They ruled in accordance with the wishes of Vijayanagar or Nāyaka rulers. Some of their copper plates contain the figure of Varāhamūrti the emblem of Vijayanagar. In their last days they were completely overrun by the Kēraḷa kings.

Later Pāṇḍyas paid their attention to the construction of temples, new annexures and *maṇḍapas* in the temples. They made huge grants to many temples for festivals and offerings. They founded large number of new brāhmāṇ colonies and gifted lands and money to the brāhmanas for reciting Vēdas, *adhyayanas* and reading *purāṇas, pañchāṅgas* (calender) etc. in the temples. They also encouraged poets and some princes were scholars. In course of time too much grants and charities reduced their wealth. The dynasty gradually got diluted in the thin air and disappeared after 1859. The decendants of the contemporary Rāmānathapuram Sēthupatis, Travancore and Cochin kings, Pudukkōṭṭai Toṇḍamans, the Tañjāvūr Marāthas etc. exist even to-day. Of course as per the Indian Constitution they do not have any right to rule. We can see the members of these royal families which continue to exist generation after generation. Unfortunately we are not able to trace the decendants of the glorious Pāṇḍyas who existed from the days of *Mahābārata*.

Case study of the Śrīvilliputtūr Records of A.R. Ep. 1926
(After 1371 A.D.)

Record No.	King	Date
574	Grant by Lakkaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka of Vijayanagar	Around 1425
572	Dēvarāya - Vijayanagar Saumya-Mentions Māvali Vāṇādi rāyar of Aḻagarkōyl	1429
529	Parākrama alias Śrīvallabha, Śaka 1356	1434
521	Māṟavarmaṉ Śrīvalllabha, Year 32	1434
575	Narasiṁha Uḍaiyār - Vijayanagar, Śaka 1375	1453
577	Mavali Vāṇādi rāya, śaka 1375 (Capital Alagarkoil near Madurai-vasal of Vijayanagar)	1453
567	Pāṇḍya-name lost-śaka 1394	1472
563	Kulaśēkhara brother of Teṇkāśi Parākrama Śaka 1395	1473

573	Māvali Vāṇādirāya śaka 1398	1476
565	ā aḷagaṇ Perumāḷ Parākrama, Śaka 1403	1481
540	Kēraḷa King Udayamārṭaṇḍavarman Kollam 709 Ādi	1534 July
561	Kulaśēkhara who revived the past Śaka 1458(His sister married Achyutadēvarāya in 1529	1536]
580	Parākrama Pāṇḍya, Śaka 1468	1546
537	Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya, śaka 1469	1547
585	Vijayanagar Śaka 1471	1549
571	Sadāśivarāya Vijayanagar, śaka 1472	1550
586	Madurai Vīrappa Nāyaka - Śukla	1569
592	Ativīrarāma I (Punarvaśu) built Śrī Kṛishṇa temple for the merit of Vīrappa Nāyaka, Śaka 1493	1571
593	Madurai Vīrappa-nāyaka made grants to the above Kṛishṇa temple	1575
-	After 1571 the records of Madurai Nāyaks alone appear	

Śrīvilliputtūr is situated about ninety kilometers north east of the later Pāṇḍyan capital city Teṉkāśi. The dates of the above table show the course of events in the history of the later Pāṇḍyas. When Vijayanagar exercised its authority the later Pāṇḍyas were also allowed to rule freely in Śrīvilliputtūr. After 1453 the records of the later Pāṇḍyas and Māvali Vāṇādirāyas are also found. This shows that both accepted the suzerainty of Vijayanagar and within themselves they were on cordial terms. The Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* confirms that the later Pāṇḍyas and Māvali Vāṇādirayas were friends. (Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya page Lxxiii).

In 1534 Kērala king Udayamārtāṇḍa varman occupied Śrīvilliputtūr Two years later he was driven out by Śrīvallabha (the brotherin-law of Vijayanagar emperor Achyutadēvarāya). After this date the records of later Pāṇḍyas and Vijayanagar appear. There was close relationship between them. The same friendship continued during the reigns of Madurai Nayaks as evident by the record of Ativīrarāma I who in 1571 built a Kṛishṇa temple in honour of Vīrappa Nāyaka. Pudukkōṭṭai copper plates dated 1583 state that Ativīrarāma II and Varatuṅgarāma were on friendly terms with Madurai Nāyaks. The charter describes how Ativīrarāma II and Varatuṅgarāma sent their armies to help the Madurai Nāyak when the later was engaged in battles. In short the latter Pāṇḍyas were always on cordial terms with Vijayanagar and Madurai Nāyaks.

Table - I
Māṟavarmaṉ Śrīvallabha 1402-1444
Ālias Āhavarāma - Birth Star Pūraṭdli

Record Village	Data	Date
459/1917 courtālam	Śaka 1351 Mesha Śrīvallabha alias Āhavāraman	Mesha 1429
461/1917 courtālam	Śaka 1355, Rishaba	Rishaba 1433
462/1917 courtālam	Śaka 1353, Tula	Tula 1431
468/1917 courtālam	Year 42, Ṛishaba, Śu 2, Monday, Mṛigaśira	18-5-1444
529/1911 Iḷañji	Year 33, Mēsha 1, ba 13, Puraṭṭati, Sunday (elder brother Parākrama neglected the services of the temple)	27-4-1435
243/1921 Dēvadāṇam	31, Kuṁbha 26, śu 1, Friday, Pūraṭṭādi- (called Āhavarāma born in Pūraṭṭādi. The transaction of the 30th year of elder brother Pārakrama Pāṇḍya is quoted)	20-2-1433
247/1941 Dēvadāṇam	Year 16, Kārttikai 28, ba 2 Thursday, Mṛigaśira	25-11-1417
426/1916 Attāḷnallūr	Year 37, Kuṁbha 26, śu 1, Friday Pūraṭṭadi - Praśasti Jayamaḍandaiyum Birth star Pūraṭṭādi - Special service called Śrīvallabha-sandhi (see photograph of the record and the discussions in page 112 - Medievel Pandyas - by N.Sethuraman. The data given in the report are wrong. Correct data are given here after seeing the photograph)	14-2-1439

Table - II
Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya alias Kaliyiuga Rāmaṉ alias Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ
1421-1446-Birth Star Ārdra

Record/ Village	Data	Date
452/1917 Courtellam	Śaka 1368, Mēsha 15, Chaturddasi, Hasta, Sunday	10-4-1446
88/1905 Uttarakōśa maṅgi	Year 27, also called Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ alias Kaliyugarāma	1438
178/1895 Śrīvaikuṇṭam	Śaka 1361, Year 19, Āḍi 31 - birth star ardra-also called Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ	29-7-1439
172/1895 S.I.I.V -736 Śrī Vaikuṇṭam	Year 20, Śaka 1363, Vaikāśi 31	Vaikāśi 1441

Table - III
Jaṭilavarmaṉ Śrīvallabha alias Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ

(Iranda-Kālam edutta) who revived the past and who was the son of Āhavarāma 1534-1545 (also see A.R.Ep.1926-27-page-99)

Record/Village	Data	Date
S.I.I.V-764 Teṉkāśi	Perumāḷ Śrīvallabha Śaka 1459, Year 3, Hēviḷambi, Vṛichika, 29th, ba 11, Wednesday mistake for Tuesday Svat-Bhuvanāka Vīraṉ Praśast	26-11-1537
567/1915 Dārukāpuram	Śaka 1563, Year 7, Pīlava, 27th Āvaṇi, birth star of the king was Aśvathi (Data are imperfect)	August 1541
583/1915 Darukapuram	Also called Jaṭilavarmaṉ Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ born in Aśvati Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Kartigai 23, Śu 12, Monday, Svāti	22-11-1535
T.A.S.VI page 47 Śrīvilliputtūr	Also called Kulaśēkharadēva who revived the past-Śaka 1457, Manmatha	1535
524/1926 Śrīvillputtūr	Also called Kulaśēkhara who revived the past Śaka 1456, Jaya, Ani 16 etc.	June 1534
561/1926 Śrīvilliputtur	Also called Kulasēkharadēva alias Kōdaṇḍarāma Śaka 1458	1536
T.A.S.VI page 48 Vasudēvanallūr	Jaṭilavarmaṉ Śrīvallabha, Śaka 1459 Year 3	1537
525/1909 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1457, Manmatha also called Kulasēkara-Bhuvanekaviran Prasasthi	1535
650/1917 Kaḍayanallūr	Also called Kulaśekhara śaka 1456	1534
662/1917 & 663/1917 Panpuli	Śrīvallabha, Śaka 1466, Kumbha	1545 Feb
370/1951 Vāśudēvanallūr	Śaka 1459 Year 3	1537

Table-IV
Māṛavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya alias Tirvnelvēli Perumāḷ birthstar Hasta and accession star Pushya-1531-1555

Record/Village	Data	Date
18/1912 Kayattār	Śaka 1461, Year 8	1539
19/1912 Kayattār	Śaka 1459 Year 6	1537
S.I.I.V 735 Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ	Śaka 1477 Year 24 (mention Raṇaraṅgarāma nallūr)	1555
S.I.I.V 733 Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ	Year 2 opposite 8, Tai. The king has the Royal title Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ. His birth star is Hasta. (Correct data are given in Indian Antiquary 1913 page 169-Record 169/1895)	1541 January
537/1926 Śrīvilliputtur	Śaka 1469, Year 17	1547
S.I.I.V 408 Tirunelvēli	Year 14-called by royal title. Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ born in Pushya evidently accession star - which made him the king and also quotes the birth star Hasta	1545

Table - V

Parākrama Pāṇḍya alias Kulaśēkhara alias Vīraveṇbāmālai Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ, son of Abhirāma Parākrama 1543-1551

Record/Village	Data	Date
T.A.S.XV M Sembūr Vaḍagarai	Śaka 1471, Tula etc., birth star Aśvati Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ	1549
T.A.S.XV O	Śaka 1472, Mithuna etc. Year 7 Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ, birth Star Aśvati	1550 Mithuna
277/1908 Karivalam	Saka 1469 Year 5 birth star Aswati	1547
532/1909 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1473, Year 8	1551
525/1917 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1469, Year 5	1547
532/1917 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1470, Year 6	1548
450/1917 Courtallam	Śaka 1474, current cyclic year Virōdhikṛit Year 8	1551

His records are many, sample cases alone are given here.

Table - VI

Second son of Abhirāma Parākrama, called Parākrama Pāṇḍya alias Kulaśēkhara Tirunelvēliperumāḷ I - also called Vīraveṇbāmālai Dharmaperumāḷ 1551-1563

Record/Village	Data	Date
527/1909 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1485, Year 12	1563
546/1917 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1484, Year 12 mentins Alagaṉ Perumāḷ Ativiïrarāma	1562
515/1917 Teṉkāśi	1485 Year 13	1563
560/1917 561/1917 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1481, Year 9	1559
511/1917 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1481, also called Dharmaperumāḷ	1563
530/1917 Teṉkāśi	Śaka 1480, called Dharmaperumāḷ	1558

His records are many. Sample cases alone are given here

Table - VII
Varatuṅgarāma alias Abhirāma Sundarēśvara alias Vīra Pāṇḍya 1586 - 1595 Birth Star Pushya

Record/Village	Data	Date
275/1908 Karivaḷam vandanallur	Abirāma Varatuṅgarama alias Vīra Pāṇḍya Śaka 1517, Manmatha, Year 10	1595
272/1908 Karivaḷam vandanallur	Abhirāma Varatuṅgarāma alias Vīra Pāṇḍya, Śaka 1511 current, Sarvadhāri Year 2	1578
590/1917 Teṉkāśi	Abhirāma Sundara Varatuṅgarāma, Śaka 1510	1588
605/1917 Teṉkāśi	Abhirāma Sundara Varatuṅgarāma alias Vīra Pāṇḍya, Śaka 1512, Vikṛita, Year 4	1588
Pudukkōṭṭai Copper Plates T.A.S.VI Page - 83	Śaka 1505	
354/1950 Vāsudēvanallūr	Varatuṅgarāma, Śaka 1512, Year 4	1590
Daḷavāy Agrahāram Plates of Varatuṅgarāma T.A.S.VI Page 126	Abhirāma, Sunderēśvara Varatuṅgarāma Vīra Pāṇḍya, Śaka 1510, birth star Pushya (See A.R. Ep 1929 - 27 Page 99, birth star Pushya is confirmed by Śrīvilliputtūr record)	1588

Notes and References

1. *Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya* - Published by Vishveshvara and Vishva Bandhu-Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies-Pubjab University Hoshiyarpur - Edited by Dr.K.V.Sarma.
2. Two Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1303 and 1304, N.Sethuraman, Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Volume 10-Edition 1983.
3. Teṉkāśi Parākrama Pāṇḍya and his successors - N.Sethuraman - Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India-Volume-9-Edition 1982.
4. A.R.E.p., 1918, part II, page 158, para 55-The surmise of the report needs revision since it identifies this Vīra Pāṇḍya with another Vīra Pāṇḍya who came to the throne in 1421. The report itself says that it is impossible.
5. Travancore Archaeological Series VI page - 98.
6. Teṉkāśi A.R. Ep., 569 of 1917 dated 1466; Also see A.R. Ep. 1918, page 158, para 56.
7. Tirunelvēli 122/1894; Kielhorn Ep.Ind., VI, page 312.
8. N.Sethuraman-Medieval Pāṇḍyas, page 112; A.R. Ep., 1909, page 85, para 33.

9. A.R. Ep., 1918, page 172, para 81.
10. S.I.I., VII, 52 and 53. Also see A.R. Ep., 1937-38-page 105.
11. T.A.S. V, page - 55.
12. T.A.S. III, pages 44 and 83; Certain surmises made by Gopinatha Rao in 1913 are revised in the present paper in the context of later discoveries of new inscriptions.
13. See Table V;A.R. Ep., 1918 page 160, para 60. The report-in the confused research conditions in 1918 identities this prince as the second son. Accession date 1543 and the birth star Aśvati are trumph cards which help us in identifying this prince, as the elder son.
14. A.R. Ep., 1939-40 to 1942-43, page 253.
15. T.A.S. III page 278; Dārukāpuram 577 of 1915; Teṉkāśi 490 of 1917; Teṉkāśi - S.I.I. V-765.
16. Teṉkāśi - S.I.I. V-765.
17. T.A.S. VI, page 83; The charter clearly states that Ativiīrarāma of accession 1563 was no more in 1583; But Gopinatha Rao did not agree with the statement. He believed that Ativiīrarāma lived even after 1583. At that time, in 1913, Gopinatha Rao did not have enough source materials to identify two Ativiīrarāma Pāṇḍyas of accession 1563 and 1564.
18. T.A.S. VI, page - 113.
19. T.A.S. VI, page 105 - No. VIII; Teṉkāśi S.I.I. XXVI - 539.
20. T.A.S. VI, page - 133.
21. Courtallam 505 of 1917, Śaka 1527, Year 42. There are cases where the engraver has given high regnal year indicating 1563 as the accession date. The similarity of the names has confused the engraver and he could have put wrong regnal year. The fact remains that Ativiīrārama 1 of accession of 1563 was no more in 1583. Records of same name beyond 1583 cannot indicate 1563 as the accession date.
22. I am thankful to Shri. Natana Kasinathan, the Director of Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology who was kind enough to send to me the transcripts of the records.

Book Review

KHAROSSHṬI AND KHARŌSHṬI-BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS IN WEST BENGAL (INDIA) by B.N. Mukherjee (Published in Indian Museum Bulletin series), Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1990, pages 80 and plate).

This book, an important addition to the inscriptional literature in the recent years has been written by Dr. B.N. Mukherjee a leading authority on Kharōshṭi inscriptions. The volume contains three chapters, three appendices, list of illustrations, list of abbreviations select bibliography, index and plates. The three chapters deal with the materials and interpretations', 'historical implications' and 'epilogue', respectively, while the appendices contain 'a list of inscriptions', 'palaeographical charts' and an account of 'the earliest limits of Vaṅga'. He has also given a gist of inscriptions in Appendix I.

The inscriptions which belong to the period from to 5th century A.D. provide a very important clue to socio-economic, cultural and administrative set up of the period in the region of Vaṅga. While some inscriptions are engraved on various types of vessels, plates, seals etc., either discovered through excavations or brought to light as chance finds, some of the Brāhmī legends are found stamped on the seals with the help of matrices. The seals also contain incised Kharoshṭi inscriptions. Prof. Mukherjee classifies the inscriptions into 8 categories. The legends of the inscriptions are either in Kharōshṭi or in a mixed script consisting of both Kharōshṭi and Brāhmī letters and the interesting point to notice here is that while the Kharōshṭi inscriptions read from right to left, the direction of the writing of the mixed inscriptions is as per the initial letter, be it is Kharōshṭi or Brāhmī, i.e., if the initial letter is Kharoshṭi the inscription would be from right to left and if the initial letter is Brāhmī, it would read from left to right. The language of these inscriptions is Prākṛit. There is also influence of Aramic and Greek in some letters. In this context, *the specially noteworthy letters* are *śin* and *ṭeṭ(h)* and Greek letter *phi*. The use of letter *ja* in Kharōshṭi in place of Roman letter *z* is also noteworthy. Prof. Mukherjee, while examining the reference to 'Vimishrita lipi' in *Lalithavistara*, opines that it might be suggestive of the mixed script as we come across in the present context i.e., a mixture of Kharōshṭi and Brāhmī letters.

The purpose of issue of the inscriptions is varied. It may indicate a personal, royal, administrative, trade or any other context or contain a charm or items of fine arts, etc. The inscriptions also highlight about the contacts Vaṅga had with China, ŚrīLaṅka, the South East Asian countries, Egypt and Western India. They also indicate that the migrants and elite amongst agriculturists had come to wield a political influence and at times exercise political power. Kings with their names ending in *varman* like Chaṁdra-varman, ruled a part of Vaṅga in the early 4th century A.D. Prof. Mukherjee also points out that some of the inscriptions contain references to the Vedic sacrifice and to some of the Vedic gods like Indra, Agni and Śiva. There is also a reference to fertility cult in the inscriptions. Prof. Mukherjee

feels that original Vaṅga (up to the Gupta age) was distinct from Vaṅga of the Pālā-Sēna times (from about the middle of the 8th to 13th century A.D.) as indicated by the study of the inscriptions. Prof. Mukherjee, the author of the volume deserves our gratitude for bringing out such a valuable book. The Publishers deserve our sincere appreciation for printing this book very neatly.

Madhav N. Katti

Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati by Dr. I.K.Sharma and Shri J. Varaprasada Rao (Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, pp. xxi + 136 with 4 figures and 34 plates ; Price : Rs. 500-00)

Sannati, on the bank of Bhīmā river in Gulbarga District, Karnataka, is wellknown to many scholars for its rich yield of early Brāhmī inscriptions. It gives a picture of the remains of the ancient settlement revealing the evidence of urbanisation. The various epigraphs unearthed during explorations and stray excavations are not only valuable for the reconstruction of the political history but also the cultural history of the Sātavāhana period. In many respects this site is important, for it is likely to give a new orientation to the early history of the Deccan once new evidences are brought to light by the spade of the Archaeologist. The valuable historical mounds and sites of this place call for their preservation for the benefit of posterity as the threat of their submergence, on account of the construction of dam in the area, looms large.

This monograph contains two parts, with Part-I dealing with newly discovered Aśokan epigraphs in five chapters, besides appendices and Part-II, with other Brāhmī inscriptions found earlier in and around the village. The recent discovery of Aśokan epigraphs within the precincts of the Chandralāṁbā temple at Sannati has not only evoked interest and excitement amongst the researchers, but assumed greater significance on account of their historical importance. The two authors have improved upon their earlier version of calling the two edicts under reference as merely Aśokan edicts and not as Rock edicts, for these were not engraved upon Rocks as is generally the case elsewhere. The general terminology of Aśokan edicts applies to all the edicts, not to speak of the Pillar or Rock edicts.

It may be stated here in brief that the edicts from Sannati have gained a unique place amongst the edicts of this emperor, be they the Major, Minor, Pillar or Separate Rock edicts. The authors have not only taken greater pains to furnish detailed texts and translations of the edicts found at Sannati but also elaborated the synoptical texts of the other edicts of this emperor. They have accepted the criticism and suggestions of the various authors whose valuable comments have been made available to us in this book. In view of the great importance of these edicts, they have also published the readings of the texts and translations by eminent scholars like Prof. K.R. Norman and Dr. K.V. Ramesh. The opinion of Dr. Ramesh that 'the diction of Sannati special edicts reveals significant departures from the Kaliṅga version' assumes significance in the light of his own suggestion that 'a third master copy must have existed'. The deeper analysis of the two authors have

enriched this work. It is no doubt clear from the occurrence of the special edicts at Sannati that this area and its neighbourhood were annexed by Aśoka and brought under his paramountcy. This has necessitated the issue of these special edicts for the welfare of his subjects and in order to assert his position through his viceroys.

The two authors have dealt in detail with the importance and the dating of the records ranging from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. The epigraphs are related to the Sātavāhana kings and other important personages of the royal household. They not only bring to light the exploits and the achievements of the Sātavāhana kings but also adduce an evidence about the social history of the period. Some of the inscriptions throw valuable light on the geographical divisions and the antiquity of the places. In this work, Dr. Sharma and his co-author have taken immense pains to examine the contents of various epigraphs discovered in and around Sannati including those belonging to the period of the later Sātavāhana rulers. The attempts to identify the various places referred to in these records need to be appreciated here in view of the fact that they serve as an eye-opener to the scholars interested in the field of onomastics.

Dr. Sharma and Shri Varaprasada Rao deserve our congratulations for having made the texts of the Sannati inscriptions available to the scholars so early. This monograph thus serves as a valuable addition to the literature on the Aśokan history in particular and that of the Deccan in general.

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